THE NATION
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January 11, 1965 . . 35c

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LETTERS

Prayer and night raids

Lebanon, Pa.

Dear Sirs: I have read with some amazement Robert G. Hummerstone's article, "The Outcast of Lebanon," in your Nov. 2 issue. . . .

You have made no note of the fact that the school board of the city of Lebanon complied with the accepted interpretation of the Supreme Court's decision. . . . As a member of the Cornwall-Lebanon Joint Board, I think I am qualified to say that the board did not vote to defy the Supreme Court. They did question the interpretation that the decision actually proscribed permissive use of the Bible and prayer, and the board was willing to make a test case. . . .

I question whether you could find any statistical substantiation for your statement that jobs are scarce in Lebanon, and Mr. Snavely's statement that "you have to get a recommendation from your minister" is quite a surprise to me. I also doubt that the "Unions are weak."

As to the personal attacks on Mr. Snavely, I do not think these few unfortunate incidents are any more than could be expected in any community. . . . *E. U. Sowers, 2d*

Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Sirs: Although Mr. Sowers contends that the personal attacks on Mr. Snavely "could be expected in any community," the truth is that nowhere in the entire nation did the vilification of dissenters reach such proportions as in Lebanon. I came across the case while conducting an extensive two-month survey of reaction to the two Supreme Court decisions on religion in the schools. Lebanon's flagrant abuse of individual rights was unmatched.

Mr. Sowers claims that his school board was not defying the Supreme Court; it was presenting a "test case." . . . Test cases are not based on midnight raids and trumped-up charges. It was not, in fact, the school board's responsibility to test the case at all. As representatives of Mr. Snavely as well as of citizens with whom they agreed, the board members should have been fulfilling their role as agents of the government by implementing the law, leaving "testing" to private citizens. . . .

As for the board's eventual compliance to the Court's June, 1963, decision, this was not done until February, 1964, after legal action had been threatened by the state attorney general and a U. S. district court.

Robert G. Hummerstone

Burroughs

New York City

Dear Sirs: The Marshall McLuhan piece on Burroughs [*The Nation*, Dec. 28] is sensational. *Michael Smith*

Youth and the press

Oakland, Calif.

Dear Sirs: "No Fair! The Students Strike at California" by Gene Marine [*The Nation*, Dec. 21] is the first article that I have read which closely corresponds to the events that I witnessed during the past three months.

It was expected that the *Oakland Tribune's* perspective would be anti-FSM, but the other Bay area newspapers surprised many people by their grossly distorted, biased and sometimes false, reporting. . . . As for the news films on TV, they were edited to stress the colorful and the dramatic, at the expense of objective reporting.

The Nation, time and again, has questioned the veracity of our news media. If the events so close to home are reported like this, then what confidence can we place in news from the Congo, Vietnam, Mississippi, Washington, etc.? This observation has not been lost on the students or the university community. And it only reinforces the slogan, "Don't trust anyone over 30."

Gene V. Ellis

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: The University of California is a tax-supported institution which, on the basis of its service to the state and the country, has become the most respected public higher-education complex in the United States. While it is true that administrative decisions, in responding to the public which it serves and is financed by, too often ignore the students, this was not the question toward the end of the so-called Free Speech Movement. As Mr. Marine pointed out, free speech was not the real issue, but I would maintain that civil rights was not the real issue either. Here at UCLA, the local FSM group told us what Mr. Savio has long announced, that the issue is student control—absolute student control—on the campus. The faculty is recognized as a factor when it supports FSM; it is ignored when it does not.

I have had my fill of the cause-hungry young people with whom Mr. Marine would have us sympathize. . . . I am a strong supporter of the civil rights and civil liberties movements. I believe in free speech. But the administration of the University of California is in a position of trust, indirectly controlled by the taxpayers who are educating tens of thousands of students, free of charge, every year. I cannot help but resent it when a minority of students (accompanied by many non-students) refuses to compromise, and rushes eagerly into a situation reminiscent of the chaos of South American universities. . . .

Susanne Woods
Graduate in English

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1965: The Prime Task

When the editors of *Time* gathered to choose the Man of the Year, the honor must have gone to Lyndon B. Johnson by acclamation. No one else was in the running. If the President continues at the pace he has set, he may emerge, at least from a material standpoint, as the most successful leader of a great country in this century. The flow of cash income to American families and individuals passed the half-trillion mark in November. As Edwin L. Dale, Jr. pointed out in *The New York Times*, the nation received a $40 billion Christmas present—that figure represents the growth of the American economy in 1964 over 1963. $40 billion! It is nearly as large as the entire gross national product of Canada; it is about half the gross national product of France; it is probably more than the growth of the Soviet economy in 1963 and 1964 combined. Dale quotes a European diplomat: "The American economy has become so big that it is beyond the imagination to comprehend."

On top of this affluence—and partly as a result—the President takes his second oath of office in the wake of the greatest popular-vote plurality in American history. He has overwhelming majorities in both houses of the Congress. The only President with a comparable mandate was Franklin D. Roosevelt, and he took over in a time of national distress and, in return for his achievements, made bitter enemies. Mr. Johnson is almost universally liked; he is tolerated even by those who dislike his style. Business was suspicious of John F. Kennedy, but Walter F. Carey, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, voices the view of a large section of the business community when he praises Mr. Johnson's "understanding of what it takes for business to expand," and his "inclination to bring it about."

The cup runneth over. One can almost go along with the President's words as he lit the White House Christmas tree: "These are the most hopeful times since Christ was born in Bethlehem."

In the face of such optimism, and the vast horizon of possibilities lying before this son of fortune, an enumeration of the flaws in the picture would be out of place. *The Nation* will no doubt have occasion to carp in the future, as it has in the past. At the moment all we wish to do is to express some hopes in areas that have little to do with that half trillion of national income. No part of it avails the American soldier killed in South Vietnam, or his relatives, nor the Vietnamese peasant burned alive by American napalm, nor the Vietcong soldier who is, if anything, even braver than the American, since he fights without air cover.

Our hope is that high on the President's objectives will be a conscious, ever-present, unswerving effort to work out the transition from cold war (on which that glowing half trillion is partly based) to a stable peace and an end of the nuclear arms race. What this involves, essentially, is extrication of the U.S. from the compulsive ideology of the cold war and from the foreign commitments it has engendered, from the military-industrial-scientific complex which riveted the cold war and its dead-end policies on us and the rest of the world. It calls for the courage to cut back military expenditures and shift spending to the areas where it is needed. None of these tasks is impossible for a President in Mr. Johnson's present position. Peace has its feedbacks as well as war, and the more the President undercuts military pressures and takes his stand alongside the forces that want to see intelligent spending in the civilian sector, the greater will be his political support for an economics of peace. If these should be the President's policies, *Time's* 1964 award will be seen in perspective as the beginning of a long climb, not the high point of a personal history.

Forbidden Thoughts

It may well be that President Johnson will have no choice but to follow policies of peace abroad and welfare at home. The policies of "globalism," as Walter Lippmann calls it, are a disastrous failure, in contrast to American success at home. By "globalism" Lippmann means intervention all over the world in regions where we have no primary vital interest, but where the policies of the past (going back to Harry Truman, Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles) call for an attack on communism in whatever form it shows itself. As a corollary, we must ally ourselves with counterrevolution everywhere. The result is defeat and frustration. Despite the vast power of the United States, indeed, because of that power, we have overextended ourselves, and all over Africa and Asia we are defied and insulted both by our enemies and the governments whose freedom we are supposedly defending. Nasser, Nguyen Khanh, the Philippine masses, the African delegates in the United Nations and a host of others seem to hate us as much as the Communists do.

In this lugubrious situation, it is worth going back over a few of the harbingers that have appeared in *The Nation* over the past year. In the April 27 issue, Barrows Dunham, writing about the imperfections of the human mind that lead to unthinkable thoughts, suggested that they arise "not because the mind is too narrow or too distant from phenomena, but because some social body acts to prevent criticism of its purposes and policies. Thus unthinkable thoughts are, in fact, forbidden thoughts, that is to say, forbidden by some organization able to punish thinkers."

The policy of *The Nation* has always been to refuse to be proscribed in this fashion, and to knock down, as far as lies within its power, the delusions which the powers that be systematically disseminate in order further to addle the brains of their victims. A sample

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of the latter is the "domino" theory which for years has buttressed suicidal U.S. policies in Southeast Asia. In the August 24 *Nation*, John Gange took a look at this fiction of "inevitable, irresistible and sequential massive defeat" that was supposedly the consequence of the fall of the first domino. This theory of course fits perfectly into the scheme of "globalism" or unlimited military intervention in civil wars. In Christmas week, Secretary Rusk ducked a press question as to whether the U.S. still subscribed to the domino theory. Probably he has his own doubts by now.

Another sacred tenet of American policy is the "rice bowl" theory—that Communist China is bent on expansion to the south in search of food. Warren Unna writes in *The Washington Post* that this argument is knocked down by "the fact that even that lush rice bowl would make only a marginal difference for China's vast needs." The Chinese leaders are quite sane, and they have computers. They know that the only solution for their population-food problem is birth control and more efficient agriculture.

On April 6, *The Nation* ran an article by Sen. Frank Church, the lead sentence of which read: "American foreign policy tends to maintain fixed positions long after these have ceased to serve our best interests." Senator Church pointed particularly to the 52,000 American troops still stationed in South Korea, and apparently there for all time. This forbidden thought was followed, nine months later, by another, when the Senator gave an interview to the progressive Catholic magazine, *Ramparts*, calling for a new American policy in Southeast Asia and consideration of a negotiated peace, with safeguards against a Communist take-over. Three weeks after the appearance of the story, *The New York Times* front-paged it. Did the *Times* want to suggest that there are American Catholics who do not follow Cardinal Spellman on Vietnam?

It seems possible. Once only Senators Morse and Gruening were in opposition; now they are joined by Fulbright, McGovern, Nelson, Pell, Bartlett and Church, and who knows how many others who have not yet spoken out? Perhaps President Johnson is beginning to think forbidden thoughts himself. He will be difficult to punish.

Haiti and the CIA

Is there no end to the zany cloak-and-dagger capers of the CIA? Consider the latest manifestation to surface. Last July the State Department refused to allow the export of fifteen T-28s from Texas to Haiti, where they would have been used by "President" Duvalier to bolster his wickedly dictatorial regime. But in September, two T-28s were illegally flown from Florida to Haiti. Law-enforcement officials had built up a strong case against those involved in smuggling the planes out of the country without an export license. Among those under investigation, so it is reported, is the Haitian Consul General in Miami, Rudolph Baboun. Mr. Baboun had been investigated once before in connection with transporting to Haiti 600 surplus M-1 rifles. It has also been disclosed that André Elie, Consul General in New York, had purchased as gifts in Miami 257 revolvers of the type used by Haiti's private army of thugs, the Ton Ton Macoute.

The prosecution needed the testimony of a "mystery witness" to complete its case against the plane smugglers. He is supposed to be an armorer who went to Haiti in September to install weapons in the T-28s and who could, presumably, testify that the planes he serviced were purchased in this country. The witness is said to be a present or former employee of the CIA. In any case, some government agency intervened to prevent him from testifying, on the ground that his appearance would be "too sensitive." Since the State Department denies that it stepped in, the finger points at the CIA. What national interest prevents the armorer from testifying? Were federal statutes violated or weren't they? Why should certain persons, some of them United States citizens, who conspired to aid Duvalier, be immune from prosecution? Is the CIA trying to appease Duvalier or is it afraid that some of its other activities in the Caribbean might be disclosed? "Officials in Florida," reports *The New York Times*, "are concerned about what happens to law enforcement when officials and government agencies invoke the 'national interest.'" The concern is justified. But there is more to the CIA's involvement in Haitian affairs than this latest episode suggests.

The Case of Andrew Adams

Recently, Andrew Adams, age 50, of Akron, Ohio, was convicted in the federal court in Cleveland of a fancy check-juggling operation much too complicated to detail here but which eventually entangled Adams to the extent of $120,000. Soon to be sentenced, Adams has no background of prior arrests or involvement in criminal activity. He is—or was—an "expediter" or consultant for Akron electrical contractors, and known locally as an intense "anti-Communist."

During World War II, he served with the OSS and, in this way, came to know a Washington attorney, Earl Brennan, who was in charge of certain operations for the OSS in the Adriatic. Both Adams and Brennan were registered as agents of the Parti National Haitien, which formerly had its headquarters in Mexico. They terminated their registrations in 1963, since by then most of the officials of the party were living in this country. Representatives of the party were introduced to Mr. Brennan by Serafino Romauldi, the AFL-CIO's Inter-American representative, currently director of the American Institute for Free Labor Democracy. [See "Meddling in Latin America: Dubious Role of AFL-CIO" by Stanley Meisler, *The Nation*, February 10, 1964.] A new registration, filed on September 11, 1964, listed Dr. Roger Rigaud as agent for the Haitian National Democratic Union, a group which included many of the elements from the Parti National.

Adams contends that his check manipulations were incidental to his efforts to raise money for the Parti National. He says that any money he raised was for-

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warded to his principals—a statement that appears to be confirmed by investigation of his personal financial records. Oddly enough, the Akron *Journal* carried stories about the activities of Brennan and Adams. Although Duvalier is a stout "anti-Communist," Adams apparently thought that he was harboring Communists in his regime or that he might be getting ready to make a deal with Castro. In fact, as Al Burt pointed out in last week's *Nation*, Duvalier is a crude but enthusiastic practitioner of diplomatic blackmail who likes to have a few Communists about, the better to loosen purse strings in Washington.

The point to note is that the original plan to raise money for the Parti National was conceived in 1962. When Adams was arrested, he told the FBI that he was employed by the CIA. That is probably not true, but it seems that assurances were given Adams and Brennan in Washington that it would be all right for the Parti National to raise money for the purpose of overthrowing Duvalier; in fact, there were some vague statements that if the venture succeeded, the expenses might be refunded. The assurances were apparently of the "go ahead and see what you can do" variety. Two FBI agents interviewed Adams in his attorney's office. At one point, the attorney, C. T. Cherpas of Akron, was asked to withdraw because, it was explained, the interrogation involved "national security."

Part of the fund-raising activities presumably consisted in attempts to sell concessions for gambling, oil exploration, etc., all contingent on the success of the "revolution." A representative of the new Haitian National Democratic Union is reported to have made trips to Las Vegas in quest of possible investors in a future Haitian gambling enterprise. The bank knew, in a general way, about Adams' Haitian operations: in fact it had been promised a $2 million deposit—contingent, again, on the success of the venture. Since this fantastic scheme was first conceived in 1962, it is quite possible that it did have the indirect sanction of the CIA. At that time both the CIA and the State Department might have been interested in engineering Duvalier's ouster. But then came the disastrous Bay of Pigs fiasco which dampened Washington's enthusiasm for the hit-or-miss, often quite boyish antics of the CIA. Apparently the unlucky Adams got caught in the backwash of these murky intrigues.

The Haitian episode is merely one of many similar gambols of the CIA that warrent public airing, but of course the public will never know what really happened. In the meantime, it might not be amiss if the daily press were to check into the Adams case. Two telephone calls, one to Cleveland, one to Akron, produced the facts recited here.

Who Shall Bell the Cat?

When it isn't Emerson Foote, it is usually his partner, Fairfax Cone, who makes news on Madison Avenue. In a recent speech before the Association of National Advertisers, Mr. Cone so belabored the profession that if one were unaware that he is chairman of the executive committee of Foote, Cone & Belding, one might take him for some pinko who had it in for advertising. Mr. Cone began by asking three related questions: Does advertising represent full value for the dollars invested in it? Does advertising represent the best possible efforts of the people who make it? Does the average advertiser give due consideration to the possible effect of his spiel, aside from his own selfish interests? All these questions Mr. Cone answered with a flat *no*.

Mr. Cone then proceeded to flagellate his audience further by giving examples of what might be called antisocial advertising, some of it rather funny if it weren't that the money could be spent to better purpose. He cited a dog-food advertisement that promised the dog "chunks of beautifully marbled, juicy broiled beef," when in fact the product was composed of a small amount of ground beef, the ears, lungs, lips, etc., of the cow, certain chemicals, and a lot of water. Human beings are also swindled in much of today's advertising, as when competitive analgesics are touted as if they were the key to happy living, or the manufacturers of Sucrets (but this instance escaped Mr. Cone's survey) are hauled up before the FTC because their lozenges were claimed to relieve the "fiery pain" of sore throat. Mr. Cone concluded that there are a certain number of bad actors in the advertising business, that overstatement tends to beget overstatement, and that some advertising is "hateful." Then, constructive as always, he sought a remedy.

Doubting that Esther Peterson, the White House adviser on consumer problems, or the FTC, the courts or the legislatures could do anything; despairing that the advertising industry would purge itself, or that codes and czars could avail; yet realizing that a remedy must be found, and pretty soon at that, or the public will develop a cynical attitude toward *all* advertising, Mr. Cone turned in his extremity to the media themselves.

But surely Mr. Cone did not rise to his high estate by such wishful thinking. Is his mind losing its force? The *Reader's Digest* refuses to carry cigarette advertising; the *Chicago Tribune* turns down advertising for books which it considers salacious; *The New Yorker*, Mr. Cone also points out, has been known to reject advertising as it rejects manuscripts—it just doesn't like them. These are prosperous publications, despite their virtue—which is far from relentless—but the run of the media, probably 99 per cent of them, are no more capable of turning down advertising for ethical reasons than a hungry coyote can be taught to abstain from killing rabbits. The networks, magazines and newspapers, big and small, depend entirely on advertisers and advertising agencies for their income, and the hucksters are not in the slightest danger from that quarter. Mr. Cone said some things that needed saying and he said them well, but he had better pass the buck right back to where it belongs—to the advertisers, those who write the copy and, above all, to the people up on top who make the decisions and pay the bills.

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Truth and 'Appearances'

The Political Impact of TV . . . Richard Kellerman

Several hours after President Johnson, in an unprecedented move, made a hurried trip from Washington to Atlantic City on the evening of August 26, 1964, he personified, in this writer's judgment, the tremendous impact of television on American politics. It wasn't that the President chose to appear in the convention hall immediately after his nomination, there to urge the nomination of Hubert H. Humphrey as Vice President. And it had nothing to do with his constant availability for interviews by television newsmen from the moment he left the White House until long after the session had ended.

Rather, it was a matter of television portraiture, and of a candidate for the Presidency who spent part of that evening merely observing the proceedings from the Presidential box. There he was, big as life, sitting hunched, yet tall, in his chair. At times he smiled paternally on the gathering beneath him. At times he frowned, shifted impatiently in his seat and studied his watch. At times he appeared lost in thought, his right forefinger covering the lower part of his chin.

It would be naive to assume that the President was unaware that cameras all over the hall were focused on him, but I feel that this interlude demonstrated clearly the ability of television to convey the picture that is proverbially worth a thousand words. In a world where all men make constant "appearances" in their day-to-day lives, this was truth; and when this truth is applied to politics, the impact of television becomes overwhelming.

The highly personalized study of President Johnson was not an isolated incident during television's coverage of the 1964 elections. Political buffs will also remember the scene at the Republican Party's "peace conference" in Hershey, shortly after the convention: Senator Goldwater, grim, determined, fluent; Rep. William Miller, smiling, enthusiastic, calculating; Governor William Scranton, bright, eager, politically young; former President Eisenhower, frankly wishing it were over, his eyes alternating between his watch and the speaker; Governor Rockefeller, unhappy, disgruntled, holding a news conference on the spot at the request of two television newsmen. Again, the truth; men as they really are when they appear in their world.

President Johnson in Atlantic City, the Republicans at Hershey, and many other intimate close-ups are at the heart of television's relationship to U.S. politics. The more we can see of men who have—or would have—power, the better informed we become. In other times we should have had to depend on a sketch, a photograph, a newspaper story, a tired candidate at a freezing depot at 7:30 A.M. Today, we turn to television and see for ourselves.

And what we see, aside from intimate glimpses of political men, supports the hopes of those who genuinely care about politics and who are aware that our system depends on our ability to choose leaders wisely. Television news is providing the citizens with the material they need to make such choices. Its presence is also, I believe, arousing interest and concern among people who had hitherto been indifferent to politics.

In a Presidential year, the cameras are turned on several weeks before the New Hampshire primary; they are not turned off until all the votes are counted and the decision is clear on Election Night. The scope of this coverage is tremendous. All contested primaries are covered, not only in regularly scheduled news programs, but in special broadcasts as well. As a result, and while it may sound like a network press release, it is a fact that never in the history of communications have so many millions had an opportunity to watch the political system in action. By the same token, never in the history of politics have the candidates, as well as the professional shapers and molders, had an opportunity to present their credentials to such a vast audience of potential voters.

However, it should be remembered that, while television provides intimacy and depth of coverage, it remains—however dominant — merely another means of communication. Television news is a visual conveyer belt for minute-by-minute information and is so recognized by the broadcasters and —to a degree—by professional politicians.

I heard and read much last year about the negative effect that television was alleged to have had on the campaigns. I heard and read that the presence of television cameras made normal operations unwieldy, and that at the conventions some delegates and reporters could not see the podium because of the quantity of technical equipment. I saw it argued that early projections and computations would cause widespread changes in voting patterns when returns from the East Coast became available to West Coast voters before their polls had closed. I was told that television was fine but that it didn't get inside the "smoke-filled rooms"; that much of the audience during the conventions preferred an Elvis Presley movie to "view with alarm" speeches from Convention Hall. I heard the charge that television newsmen (along with their colleagues in the press) were biased.

The hue and cry about objective reporting is patently absurd. Perhaps the best answer to this charge was given by a network executive who said the complaints about biased reporting came, for the most part, from people who were angered by events, and vented their anger on those who reported these events.

The effect of projections of the West Coast vote has already been subjected to preliminary scrutiny, although it must be admitted that further, extensive studies are needed. In its November 16 issue, *Broadcasting* magazine stated that Willamette University of Salem, Ore., had conducted an Election

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Richard Kellerman, formerly a reporter on a New York paper, is currently a member of the staff of NBC News. *Articles dealing with other aspects of the political implications of television are now in preparation.*

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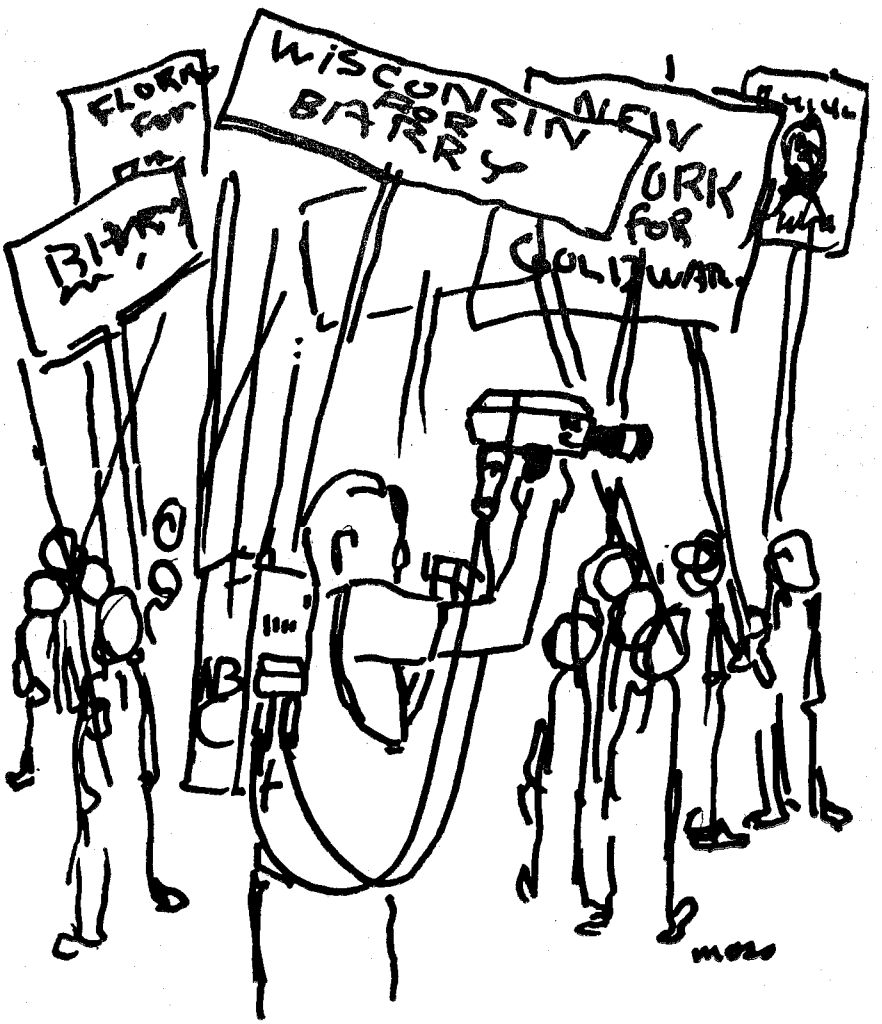
Day poll which revealed that ". . . of 2,961 voters interviewed in forty Oregon precincts between 5 P.M. (when returns from the East indicating a Johnson landslide already had been broadcast in Oregon) and the time polls closed, nineteen said that they'd changed their votes because of what they had heard."

According to *Broadcasting*, Dr. John A. Rademaker, who supervised the poll, said the results of the survey "show that the possibility that people on the West Coast would stay home in droves if the race were a landslide . . . was not realized. . . . Because they felt they still wanted to express their preferences, nearly all eligible voters who were physically present and able did go and vote."

As to television's inability to get inside the "smoke-filled rooms": Most television and newspaper reporters have been amused by this criticism, wondering what constitutes a "smoke-filled room" in this era of instant communications. Beyond that, the fact is that no journalist has ever quite made it into the core of political (or business) decision making. For example, at the 1958 New York State Democratic Convention in Buffalo, disastrous decisions were made behind several closed doors, but exactly who said what to whom is still a subject of lively speculation. When events take place in secret, it is foolish to expect those concerned to serve public notice, and the idea of inviting several reporters to observe the proceedings is laughable. Stories on secret meetings will always be based on the combination of a good source and a knowledgeable reporter, of which television has its fair share.

The remaining criticisms — and there are many more than I have cited — rest in the political area. Television may provide intimacy and candor, but it does not operate in a vacuum, particularly when shrewd office seekers are involved. If we were given an intimate study of President Johnson, we got it, as I pointed out, at a time when he realized that every move he made was observed by millions of potential voters. While he was one of us, hiding true feelings behind the human tendency to make an "appearance," he was also a politician on display.



This leads to the criticism that television's bulky equipment impeded the proper business of the conventions, that some delegates and reporters could not see the podium. Problems raised by television's presence are basically political in that it is up to the politicians to decide how and to whom they wish to convey their message. It is obvious that since the advent of television, the political planners have been addressing themselves more and more to the television audience. It naturally follows that there has been an increase in the amount of television equipment.

It seems to me that the "I can't see" complaint really raises the question of whether there shouldn't be basic changes in convention and campaign formats. I have heard audience and press mutterings ever since the 1952 conventions: sessions and campaigns lasted too long; speeches were boring; the occasional haggling was embarrassingly bad acting; days (and prime evening hours) were wasted on useless preliminaries. On the other hand, politicians have told me that, while some may be bored and annoyed, it is essential that candidates for office get national exposure. The Senate nominee from a given state looks pretty important to the folks back home even when his appearance consists solely of reading three paragraphs from the party platform.

It is not in my province to suggest how politicians should go about making their nominating procedures more interesting and dramatic without passing over the Senate candidate and his precious three paragraphs. However, it *is* in my province to point out that at one time during the 1964 conventions, when a majority of the television audience in one city *was* watching an Elvis Presley movie, political television was not concerning itself with podium activities.

Television spent most of its time on the floor of the conventions, exploring basic disagreements among members of the Republican Party and civil rights problems within the Democratic Party. The cameras

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went to the speakers' platform only when the nominees or former President Eisenhower and former Vice President Nixon spoke; or when the keynoters reared back; or when, at the Republican Convention, there was a floor fight on the platform. Except for these comparatively isolated incidents, which consumed only a fraction of the time devoted to the conventions, the networks were roving the hall, trying to get the delegates to talk where it hurt; avoiding the endless introductory speeches, seemingly eternal delays and other traditional convention time wasters.

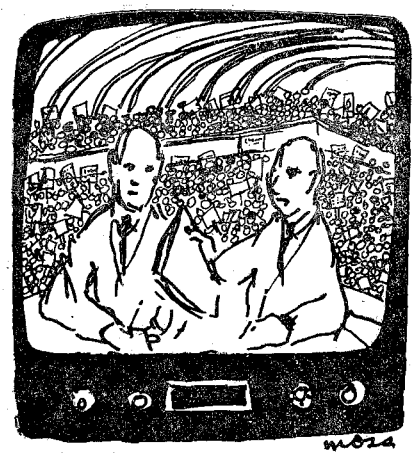
The politicians, it seems to me, should note that, while the Senate nominee may have read his three paragraphs very well, the cameras were focused elsewhere — and so was the attention of the convention itself. The delegates were milling about and talking; buying refreshments; shuffling uncomfortably in their chairs. The Senate nominee was a victim of faulty conception.

The New York Times in a November 17 editorial came to grips with the problem:

> *Television has profoundly altered the character and coherence of the convention. The keynote speaker and other orators who used to bellow happily for an hour or more...now think first of the bemused citizen viewing them close up on his home television screen. . . . Now . . . camera and other impedimenta of television have distorted the physical arrangements within the hall to such an extent that many delegates would . . . rather watch a convention than attend one. Ironically enough, the networks — fearing to bore the viewers back home — shift their cameras during the minor speeches from the rostrum to their own commentators. No one, therefore, gets publicity exposure from these speeches except the network "anchor men" who scarcely need it. . . .*

I think that, allowing for the exaggeration of what television did during the boring hours, the *Times* may have a case. But as one who is deeply interested in both television and politics, I am somewhat uneasy by the call for drastic changes. In this, I think I reflect political as well as television thinking.

If the convention format is changed to insure television showmanship, it follows that campaigns —both leading up to and following the conventions—will also change.



The word "streamlined" comes to mind, and political campaigns become serialized: The handsome, attractive fellow (if he's ugly don't expose him) begins his thirty-week sprint—at least as far as the television news audience is concerned — immediately prior to the New Hampshire primary. Procedures throughout the season, including primaries, conventions (everybody in the hall can see the podium now) and home-stretch campaigning are scripted, even down to when and how paid political broadcasts should be aired. Everything is cut and dried, and drama critics are detached for pageant coverage.

With all its faults the present system is not as bad as that. Certainly there is room for improvement, particularly where conventions are concerned and one day might easily be lopped off the schedule. However, it would worry me if proceedings had been so organized that the bitter ideological fight at the Republican Convention was programed out. It would worry me if convention planning had made it unnecessary for President Johnson to pay his surprise morale visit to Atlantic City. In general, it would disturb me if U.S. politics were forced to abandon the very thing that makes our election years so exhaustingly fascinating: the prospect of a free-for-all, both in terms of candidates and issues. It is important to remember that *all* elections are not landslides (remember 1960) and that we could well inhibit our freedom of choice through lack of exposure. As things stand today, we see it all and we can pay as much or as little attention as we see fit. Additionally, even if we were to streamline to the limit, a proportion of the electorate would still watch Elvis Presley. Television is chipping away at that group, but it still has a long way to go.

I repeat: the basic decision is political; the professional politicians must determine how they can best exploit the immediacy and scope of television coverage without alienating an audience of potential voters, or causing irreparable damage to a political system that, however uneven, has proved itself over almost 200 years.

Finally, two personal opinions which have a bearing on the relationship between television and politics:

It would be most desirable if the Congress were to repeal, once and for all, the "equal time" portion of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934. I don't advocate this because I think it will guarantee debates between Presidential candidates. Whether or not to debate is again a political decision best left to candidates and to their platoons of advisers. But television news has come of age. It would be most valuable to all concerned if the networks were permitted to assign air time for the principal candidates as they see fit, without having to provide similar services for splinter-party candidates. The networks bend over backward to be fair, and in so doing evidence infinitely more responsibility than many news publications. While it is true that the public owns the air waves, it is also true that the men who run the networks are intelligent and knowledgeable where politics are concerned. I feel that the public would receive infinitely more information during an election year if the networks were free to expose the major candidates without fear of punitive action.

As to computers and projections: The fact is that this comparatively new system works and will continue to improve. All the talk about mechanized monsters is just talk. It is fair to say that, thanks to these technical facilities, the American people came away from this election better informed as to the *why* of politics than ever before. Numbers are just numbers without analysis, and the computers get behind the numbers. In a large sense, this technical revolution will have a mutually profound effect on television and politics in the future.

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Russia's Satellites in New Orbits

Alexander Werth

Paris

Reading the tremendous three-page splash that *Pravda* of December 4 gave to the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship meeting, one must hunt for intimations that anything has changed since the days of Stalin. Antonin Novotny, President of Czechoslovakia, and Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist Party boss, both spoke of "the eternal friendship of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union," of their devotion to "the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," and so on. Brezhnev paid the usual compliments to the Czechs for the remarkable progress of their heavy industry since the war:

> *In the last fifteen years, the per capita production of Czechoslovakia has grown twice as fast as that of Britain or Belgium. In per capita output of iron and steel it has outstripped the United States, Britain and France. Slovakia, a backward rural country, is now a mighty industrial country. . . . In this enormous creative activity, the Czechoslovak people have been guided by their glorious and trusted Communist Party.*

Novotny, for his part, spoke warmly of the fruitful economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, of the petroleum and raw materials that Russia supplied, and the machinery, railroad equipment and consumer goods that it bought from the Czechs. Both speakers stressed that all this cooperation was achieved on a basis of equality and sovereignty.

But there were some new notes. Thus, Novotny remarked that while it was the common goal of Russia and Czechoslovakia to catch up with, and excel, the capitalist countries, there was no value in "idle dreams":

> *We know that our outstripping the capitalist countries is not for tomorrow. The technical level of Western industry is in many respects much higher than ours.*

And then, in the most tactful, even camouflaged terms, Novotny told the Soviet audience of the fundamental changes Czechoslovakia was making in its economy. While trying to reassure them that the "principle of democratic centralism remained the very basis of the new system," and that "the state monopoly of foreign trade would be wholly preserved," he significantly added that the various enterprises concerned "would take part in the conclusion of foreign-trade agreements, and their responsibility in carrying out these agreements would be greatly increased." The "newly created industrial base," he went on to explain, a little obscurely and perhaps even shamefacedly, would be the various branch enterprises, each endowed with wide legal powers and responsibilities. Their activity would be judged by their gross income or their profit; and he talked about the extreme importance of "the profit motive," of "qualitative indices," the "maximum production effectiveness" and the satisfaction of "consumer needs."

Profit motive would apply from the workshop all the way up to the management of an industrial branch. Good results would produce bonuses and other benefits. Prices would be fixed, though "a certain flexibility" would enter into both price and wage fixing. Novotny hastened to add that there would be "nothing chaotic and capitalist-like about price and wage levels." Nevertheless, he made it clear that Czechoslovakia was taking a long step away from the planning and managerial techniques developed in the Soviet Union, and generally identified with "communism." What his explanation amounts to is that large factories or combinations of smaller producers are to direct their own affairs and negotiate many of their prices with suppliers and consumers; they will then benefit or suffer from profits or losses experienced in competing with other domestic and with foreign producers.

The new "market economy"—largely the work of a 45-year-old economist, Professor Sik, a member of the Czechoslovak Central Committee—has been the subject of long, heated debates inside the Czech party. It was finally adopted by the last Party Congress, though it would seem that old Stalinites like Novotny himself are not entirely pleased about it, fearing that "liberalization" of the Czech economy will greatly increase the importance of the technician and reduce that of the party bureaucrat.

One of the pivotal questions is the extent to which the Russians themselves will be prepared to follow the Czech example. Two years ago Professor Liebermann of Kharkov University wrote a number of articles in the Soviet press that urged a "market economy" and "profit" system similar in many respects to what the Czechs have now adopted. The proposals were widely discussed—and then dropped. The Soviet party hierarchy of that time seems to have feared for its power and influence, and it is noteworthy that one of the recent Soviet criticisms of Khrushchev is that he thought fit to interfere unduly with production methods, whereas the real job of the party bosses is to exercise political control.

In recent months the Liebermann proposals have been taken up again, this time at the highest level. Premier Aleksei Kosygin, an experienced economist, appears to have convinced himself that, at least in light industry, the system which concentrated merely on fulfilling the "plan" or "quota" produced shoddy results. During my last visit to Russia, one of the most common complaints I heard was that the quality of Russian clothes was usually terrible. The reason given was that the factory director is worried about fulfilling a quota set for him by the central authority, and accordingly gears his output at the expense of quality—and without regard to the consumer's taste. I saw several "bargain counters" in Moscow where "unsalable" goods were offered at cut prices; thus, I bought there a loud red tie for 30c. The saleswoman remarked: "Our people just don't like this kind of thing; and there are mountains of it in warehouses—they'll soon be giving it away for nothing, I suppose, just to save storage space." Indeed, there are said to be in Russia stocks of such unwanted goods, originally worth more than $2 billion.

So, experimentally at any rate, the profit motive has been introduced into a number of plants, among them a textile factory in Gorki and a men's clothing factory in Moscow. Since July 1, when the new experiment was launched, the twenty-two stores which this latter factory supplies can return goods that are found unsatisfactory. If that should happen, the workers'

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bonuses would sharply decline. On the other hand, if the suits are popular, bonuses may run as much as 40 per cent above wages. Therefore, consumers' tastes are studied.

Whether this system will extend to the rest of light industry and, more important, to heavy industry, remains to be seen. There is certain to be some resistance from the central planners, who seem to fear that the Czechs are going "too far." However, Soviet economists who favor the change argue that it is no more "capitalist" than was the Stakhanovist competition introduced by Stalin in the 1930s (a measure some Marxist "purists" then regarded as incompatible with even the most elementary egalitarian principles implied in socialism).

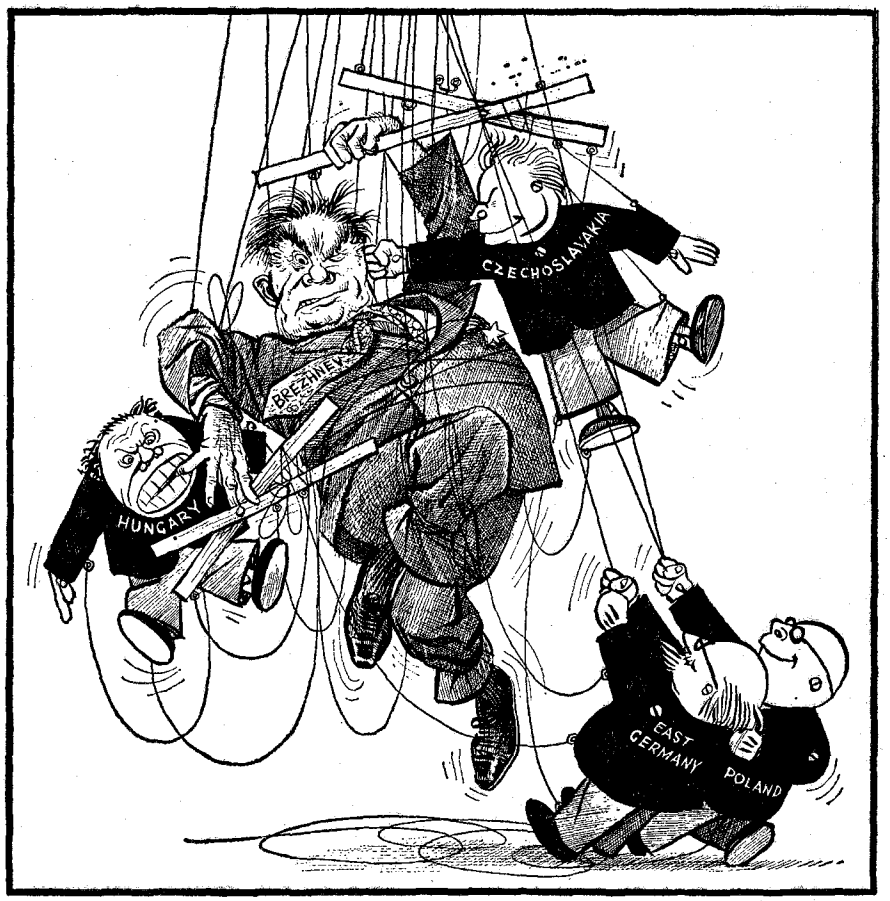
Whatever the future organization of the Soviet economy, it will affect the cohesion of what was once known as the Soviet bloc. Does this bloc still exist? The answer must be: Yes and No. In foreign policy, as the Brezhnev and Novotny speeches showed, the unity largely continues. Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria may, in the main, be depended upon to pursue one foreign policy, to vote the same way at the UN, and to hold identical views on disarmament, military policy, the MLF, the danger of German rearmament and territorial revisionism. On the Congo and Vietnam, for instance, Brezhnev and Novotny used almost identical terms, and if any Polish, Hungarian or East German leaders had been present, they would have spoken in the same way. The German menace continues to be a unifying factor among all these countries. To that extent—and it is *not* unimportant — one may still speak of a Soviet bloc.

But in other respects the unity has been broken. Gone are the days when the "satellites" did precisely as Stalin ordered. Cultural policy now varies from one country to another. Comecon becomes increasingly a myth, some countries, notably Rumania, having openly rebelled against being subservient in any way to an organization which the Russians have looked upon as a kind of economic confederation with a "common market" supra-national machinery—but very largely controlled by themselves.

Closely connected with the revolt against Comecon is the ever-growing tendency of the "satellites" to trade with the West. Just recently, there was almost a queue of East European foreign ministers in Paris —the Czech, the Bulgarian, the Yugoslav; there had been an earlier visit from the Rumanians, and Poles and others are to follow. The Russians, too, signed an important trade agreement with the French not so long ago, and when one asks Russians about their allies rushing to Paris, their answer is: "Why not? We do it ourselves—and all our allies are sovereign states, anyway."

That is perhaps the most elegant way of dodging the question of Comecon. The Russians have signed a long-term trade agreement with the French, and the others are aiming at similar deals, complete with the long-term credits.

The new "market economy" in Czechoslovakia is only one aspect of the change now taking place inside the Soviet "bloc." Rumania challenges the solidarity of the Communist alliance in another way. If Comecon had worked as the Russians had wanted, Rumania would have remained little more than a supplier of oil, foodstuffs and timber to the rest of the bloc. Instead, under the leadership of Gheorghiu Dej, who has in recent years become more and more Rumania's "national Communist leader," the country has taken an entirely different road. It has set up a substantial industry of its own. Ten times more iron and steel is produced in Rumania today than before the war, the new Galatz steel combine alone producing 4 million tons. With 12 billion kilowatts now available, nine times more electrical power is being generated, and an additional 5 billion kilowatts will come from the Danube dam—being jointly built by Rumania and Yugoslavia—when it is completed, probably next year. Rumania has trebled its oil output since prewar, and is also a large exporter of agricultural machinery. It is claimed that, with a 15 per cent annual increase, the country had the biggest industrial expansion in Europe during 1960-63. Living standards are still far from satisfactory; food is cheap, but consumer goods, especially "luxuries" like TV sets, motorcycles and



"The Puppet Master"

Macpherson, Toronto Star

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cars, are still absurdly dear. Nevertheless, as *Le Monde* reported recently, "Those who knew Rumania before the war say that people now live much better; the fearful poverty in the villages and the extravagant wealth of the upper bourgeoisie have both vanished."

Rumania, like Czechoslovakia and other Eastern countries, including the Soviet Union, displays a fundamental contradiction between what might be called Communist principles and human and economic realities. How are more liberal economic measures — which would not only produce greater prosperity but also create a more critical spirit—to be reconciled with the Communist Party's monopoly of power? Would not the one endanger the other?

In Rumania, at least, a temporary way has been found to reconcile the call for prosperity with a continuation of the party dictatorship. The party is playing at a sort of nationalism which flatters the people. The "de-satellization" of Rumania has been subtle but unquestionably skillful. In 1962, at a Party Congress, Gheorghiu Dej launched an attack against the Rumanian "Stalinites" who had been in Moscow during the war, and contrasted them unfavorably with that home resistance to which he himself had belonged. That same year, at a Comecon meeting, East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia attacked the Rumanians for importing machinery from the West, instead of buying it from them. The Rumanians said that the Western machines were better and cheaper. In March, 1963, the Rumanian Central Committee published a bold communiqué stressing the "national sovereignty, equality and independence of Rumania." About the same time, the Rumanians re-established diplomatic relations with Albania, boycotted Khrushchev's "Little Summit" in Berlin, and started playing off Moscow against Peking. This was an effective line. When Rumania informed Comecon that it was building a second steel mill at Galatz, the Russians refrained from raising their usual objections. Close relations were established with China, not a member of Comecon; and last April the Rumanian party also made an important announcement in favor of more extensive world trade. An important trade delegation went to the United States, and Premier Maurer visited Paris for trade talks—again without Russian protest.

What we see in Rumania is a sort of national-Communist regime, which has more and more points in common with that of Tito's Yugoslavia. This does not foreshadow any breach with Russia. On the contrary, the Rumanians are entirely with the Russians where "peaceful coexistence" is concerned. Rumania still needs Russian military protection, and there can be no question of its either getting out of the Russian alliance, or joining some Chinese-Albanian bloc. But the Rumanians would also be alarmed by a complete reconciliation between Russia and China—which might make Russia much tougher with her Western neighbors. Rumania was glad to see Khrushchev go, but will continue to be glad only as long as it can benefit from Russo-Chinese tension, and as long as Khrushchev's successors stick to peaceful coexistence.

In their expanded trade with the West, the Rumanians are careful not to annoy the Russians more than necessary. They—as well as many of the other "satellites"—tend to give a certain preference to France. There is a touch of comedy in this: the great display of friendship between Rumania and France is one between the most reluctant satellite of Moscow and the most reluctant ally of Washington. As *Le Monde* put it, the Rumanians make a big song and dance about their friendship with France because "it may seem less compromising to deal with an anti-American rebel than with any other Western country" (not that Rumania has no dealings with the United States, Italy and West Germany; but less is said about these "guilty" relations).

The relative independence of Rumania is taking other forms intended to flatter the citizenry and even tickle its anti-Russian sentiment: French and English have now been placed on the same footing with Russian in the school curricula. and most children now prefer these languages. Streets named after Russians have been rechristened. "Western" tendencies may also be seen in the fact that, like Poland, Rumania now allows French, English and American papers to be sold to the public—and not merely the Communist papers.

As far as France is concerned, the importance of trade with Eastern Europe, and particularly with Rumania, should not be exaggerated. True, Franco-Rumanian trade has shot up considerably in recent years: Rumanian exports from $3 million in 1954 to $35 million in 1963, French exports from less than $1 million to $20 million. The Rumanians sell mostly oil (70 per cent) and timber (20 per cent); the French, chiefly industrial equipment, entire factories, etc. But at best, French trade with Eastern Europe (including the Soviet Union) is unlikely to exceed 10 per cent of its total; and de Gaulle is not, *at the moment,* very attentive to Russia's European satellites. The explanation given is that he does not want to encourage their "de-satellization" and so annoy Moscow at a time when he agrees entirely with the Russians on Vietnam and, above all, on the MLF, and wants Russia's fullest support in his battle with his presumed allies.

Thus, to say that the "Soviet bloc" has fallen to pieces is, in one sense, quite true, but in another, totally untrue. MLF, which has become a symbol of German nuclear armaments, is quite enough to hold the Soviet world together. It may be only a thin thread, but it is very strong and nothing is likely to break it. Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians may not like the Russians; but no Russian is half as bad as a German armed with nuclear weapons. As Brezhnev said the other day: *"After all, Europe has been free of war for twenty years—which is no mean achievement."* Why not let it continue? The East European countries want peace, and they are sure that Russia stands for peace. With the Germans they are not sure at all. That culturally, economically and politically they want to be increasingly independent of Russia is quite another matter. The Russians are not going to go to war over that.

What relevance all this has to the progress of communism in the world, or even in the Soviet sphere, is not perhaps deeply important. De Gaulle may be right (and most Russians, not to mention most Poles and Rumanians, may agree with him) that what last longest in the world are not ideologies but **nations.**

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Crime in the Streets . . . . . Woody Klein

Violence in the streets has become so much a part of the American way of life that most of our citizens are personally alarmed. Whether in New York, Chicago, Washington, Dallas or Los Angeles, fear of being attacked—by day or by night—is spreading, according to Deputy New York Police Commissioner Walter Arm. The crime rate goes up every year—it went up 15 per cent in the first six months of 1964 — but what concerns everyone much more than police statistics is that our neighborhoods are no longer safe.

In New York, Commissioner Arm reports, there were 7,304 assaults during the first six months of 1964, as compared with 6,169 for the same period in 1963; 15,142 cars were stolen, as compared with 12,866 for the earlier period. More cab drivers were held up, more women were raped, more people mugged and robbed. The Commissioner notes that New Yorkers last year suffered some 13,025 felonious assaults, more than 75 per cent of which took place in the streets. He continues:

Many of these attacks are nonsensical. They are spur-of-the-moment crimes. There is no way of telling whether they will happen because the offender is not always a hardened criminal.

The big difference in crime since the end of the war in 1945 is what I call the birth and rise of the spontaneous criminal. In those days, when I was a reporter twenty years ago, when a man was arrested and police asked him his occupation, he said he was a safe cracker or a burglar or a con man.

But now when you arrest a man and ask him his occupation he says he's a bricklayer or a free-lance writer or something that sounds legitimate. He is everything but a criminal and what he is really is a man who works intermittently but also commits crimes.

I'll give you a dramatic example. Several years ago on the West Side, a young man passed a photography studio and stepped in to have a picture taken for his mother down South. When the photographer went into the dark room to develop the pictures the young man suddenly got the idea of robbing the place. He hit the photographer on the head and stole $200.

He fled, of course, but he forgot his photograph. So we developed the pictures, put up a "wanted" poster and we grabbed him. Here was a guy who was working in the garment center. He had no intention of committing the crime but when it offered itself he just went ahead and hit the photographer in the head.

That kind of situation, Commissioner Arm says, confronts police

departments in every city across the country. "It's the part-time criminal or the amateur who is taking over. . . . Sometimes he gets no more than $2 and the crime may involve a homicide."

Are there any underlying reasons for the increase in these so-called "nonsensical" crimes? "We're not psychologists," Arm observes, "but crime to us is the explosion of violence by a person who is frustrated by a number of factors and the person just takes it out in crime. It represents the failure of the home, the church—the failure of society."

He points out that many of the more violent crimes are committed by the same persons—more often in slum areas than not—who are freed by the courts after being convicted or after serving short prison terms.

"We cannot say the streets of New York are the safest in the country. We send most of our men into high-crime areas, but still the attacks go on. They occur mostly from 10 P.M. to 2 A.M., and the worst crimes generally occur Friday and Saturday nights."

Is there an end in sight? Replies Arm:

Any end to fear of violence in the streets? No, there's no end. We're in the midst of a moral breakdown with an increasing lack of respect for law and authority. It's mostly on the part of youths who have been called hoodlums and punks—which they are—but it seems to me there are many others here who ought to examine their consciences and behavior. This is a national problem, not just a crime problem.

As one antidote to the increase in street violence, Commissioner Arm reports, the New York City Police Department has launched a program which is called "Operation All-Out." "We have more men out on the streets than ever before," he says. "We have 500 men out on patrol every night, but it is still difficult to guard every store and every person. There will be burglaries and robberies of liquor and candy stores. But, we're trying to cope with them. We have taken men out of offices to get as many men as possible out onto the streets."

As far as parks are concerned, Commissioner Arm says his department keeps statistics only on Central Park. Ninety felonies were committed there last year, including four homicides.

He explains that "numerically, there is always going to be a hell of a lot of crime in New York's streets and parks because we have a hell of a lot of people here. But one thing I will say—and I don't like to boast or compare ourselves with other cities—but in the national crime table, crime based on per capita, in the country's twenty-five largest cities, we rate seventeenth or eighteenth. The only crime we're high in — second place — is grand larceny, that is where $50,000 or more is stolen. And that's because there's so much money here, obviously."

Walter Arm, who was a veteran police reporter before he became a deputy to Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, is one of the best observers of why and how and

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Woody Klein, a reporter for the New York World-Telegram, *specializes in social welfare and civil rights stories. His* Let In the Sun, *a book on politics and poverty in New York, was recently published by Macmillan.*

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where violence is rising. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has drawn even more public attention to the problem. Its reports show that every hour in the United States one person is murdered, two burglaries are committed and sixty auto thefts take place—that is, one every minute. To the average American, such statistics are hair-raising.

The FBI also states that eighty-eight policemen were killed in the line of duty in 1963; that since 1960, 168 have been murdered—a figure that approaches the death list of American servicemen in South Vietnam.

Two and a quarter million serious crimes are committed every year—an activity that costs the American public a staggering $27 billion in law-enforcement administration. Crime is increasing at a rate five times faster than the increase in population: 40 per cent as against 8 per cent.

Perhaps the worst symptom of all is public apathy—the tendency to turn away from a fellow citizen in trouble for fear of "getting involved." It is the rare man today who voluntarily goes to the aid of an assault victim, even one lying at his feet.

Psychologists, psychiatrists, historians, legal experts and sociologists are all seeking answers to the problem of violence. A recent weekend seminar at Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., agreed to set up a continuing institute to find out why violence starts and how it can be contained and eventually eliminated. Three years ago, President Kennedy created a Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, which has fostered worth-while projects like Mobilization for Youth and Harlem Youth Opportunities, Unlimited, in New York. But such projects are inadequate. They often miss what Commissioner Arm calls the "part-time" criminal. Nor can one be confident that they will get to the root of what Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a psychologist who has dedicated himself to the problem, calls "the general hopelessness and despair" of underprivileged youth who aimlessly wander the streets.

Violence in the streets of America involves so many imponderables that one doesn't know where to begin. The national war on poverty is bound to make a small dent, but most observers feel that it will take a lot more than $1 billion to bring about a fundamental change in the moral atmosphere.

SCRIPTO ON STRIKE

The Race-Wage Picket Line . . . Charles J. Levy

> Today we have another meeting with the union set up by the Federal Mediation Service. At that time we hope to get our negotiations back to the bargaining table where they belong, and have the issue redefined as being only economic in nature and having nothing to do with race. *(A Scripto, Inc., press release, Atlanta.)*

By failing to make its distinction between racial and economic issues convincing, the management of Scripto has created the first situation in which a union fight has mobilized the support of the civil rights movement, and in which a racial issue has been championed by unions.

This fusion of interests has occurred because the Scripto plant in Atlanta, Ga., employs approximately 760 "unskilled" workers (all Negro) and 140 "skilled" workers (all but six white). Most of the unskilled workers earn the federal minimum wage, which is $600 below the federal "poverty line." There is a 5c-an-hour raise after ten years of employment. And within the skilled category, it is typical that a Negro maintenance mechanic employed since 1951 receives $1.35 an hour, while a white maintenance mechanic with two years of service is paid $2.30. Since unskilled workers are often machine operators, and since unskilled workers often have to train those placed over them as foremen, the logic of the designations is also in doubt.

During eight weeks of negotiation the International Chemical Workers reduced its wage-increase demands at Scripto from 24c to 8c an hour for all levels of employment. The company, an "Equal Opportunity Employer," offered a 2 per cent increase for unskilled employees and a 4 per cent increase for skilled workers. The early meetings between management and the union were taken up with Scripto's denial of discrimination: it was just that no whites could be found for the unskilled jobs, and no Negroes for the skilled ones. But the day after Thanksgiving a strike was called and the union then pointed out that the plant was hiring unskilled white strikebreakers. It added that the Urban League, if it had been approached, could long since have provided a list of skilled Negroes.

At first, it appeared that Scripto might defy the strike. The company declared itself invulnerable, since pens, pencils and cigarette lighters had already been distributed to dealers for the Christmas trade. The company did not anticipate the new allies who suddenly appeared at the side of the striking local.

On the eve of leaving for Oslo to accept the Nobel Peace Prize, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., became involved in the strike. The headquarters of his Southern Christian

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Leadership Conference are also located in Atlanta and largely through the efforts of SCLC, Scripto was soon transformed from a local into an international problem. Picketing and boycotts were planned for all the Commonwealth countries containing Scripto plants. As one example, a member of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, on an earlier occasion, had told SCLC: "The people of Southern Rhodesia are waiting for an opportunity to work with the Negroes of America." Within the United States 2,200 organizations received nearly 2 million leaflets from SCLC urging participation in an economic withdrawal from Scripto. Much of the responsibility for local support of the strike has been assumed by an SCLC affiliate, Operation Breadbasket. Its stated purpose is to move Negro employees "from the basement to upper floors in American industry." The 450 Negro ministers who are united through this organization have used their pulpits to spread, as stated by one participant, "the message of our economic salvation": Support the boycott and respect the picket line.

While the company had ignored the strike, it could not overlook the boycott. As a result, Scripto executives asked King to suspend his action in return for a promised settlement with the strikers. The Chemimal Workers consenting, SCLC agreed to the suspension. Meantime, preparations for the boycott continued. An SCLC representative explained that "If they [Scripto] don't act in good faith, it will give us more moral leverage."

In the past, SCLC programs have by-passed economic issues. In point of fact, the urban poor have been ignored generally by civil rights groups: their particular needs have not been assessed and their participation in demonstrations has been discouraged. A reversal, at least philosophically, of this pattern occurred on October 1, 1964, when King, addressing the annual SCLC convention in Savannah, asked the long apparent question:

> *Of what advantage is it to the Negro to establish that he can be served in integrated restaurants or accommodated in integrated hotels, if he is bound to the kind of financial servitude which will not allow him to take a vacation or even take his wife out to dinner?*

A wide range of unions in the Atlanta area similarly came to the support of the Chemical Workers Local and lined up to observe the boycott. The president of the Georgia State AFL-CIO stated at a recent meeting of Scripto strikers: "We think it was no accident that on November 3, the Negro vote and labor vote went in the same direction." By putting "Negro" and "labor" in separate categories he accurately reflected a historic and largely current condition. However, political reality has compelled labor at least to begin a re-evaluation of this distinction.

The racial-economic alliance is being encouraged in Atlanta by the fact that each partner is engaged in a long-range program whose success is linked to the strike. For the past three years SCLC has been planning a boycott of all Mississippi products, and the staff feels that neither the threat nor the reality of such a boycott would be effective unless the Scripto situation provided a convincing precedent.

And for its part, the AFL-CIO has opened a massive membership drive in Atlanta and its success may be determined to an appreciable extent by the outcome of the Scripto dispute. Thus, at a recent meeting of the Atlanta Labor Council one delegate warned: "You better be careful about that Scripto strike—Martin Luther King is trying to run it." Another replied: "I don't care who runs it. We're going to help them win it." The council then voted a donation to the strikers and resolved to support the boycott.

The Atlanta coalition offers a chance to revitalize both the civil rights and the trade union movements. SCLC has not only gained a live issue to supplant the largely solved public accommodations problem, but also finds itself working for the first time with an organized body of Southern whites. This cooperation was another goal that King presented in his Savannah address:

> *The Negro people do not possess the political power to create full employment alone. We must add our political power to that of other groups (the religious communities, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, to labor, to the liberals and intellectuals) in order to create a broad and strong political force.*

No less necessary, although unmentioned, is the alliance, first evident in the Scripto strike, between the middle- and lower-class Negro.

The "other groups" that King referred to have as much to gain by common effort as the Negro. First, the depressed wages of the Negro provide the base line for setting wages for whites. As King noted at a mass meeting of the strikers, "The same system that exploits the Negro exploits the white man; and they holler 'nigger, nigger, nigger' to keep them separated while they are exploiting both." Second, the civil rights movement has what Rev. C. T. Vivian, the SCLC strategist in the campaign against Scripto, calls "dynamism" to offer its prospective allies. This dynamism can be readily observed: the *élan* generated by *We Shall Overcome* dominates the strike meetings, and it is a spirited determination of the sort that long ago deserted union meetings. The merger of the economic and racial issues was best summarized by one striker who carried a placard declaring: WE WON'T BE SLAVES NO MORE.

LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

Heating the river

River Falls, Wis.

Dear Sirs: I wish to submit a small technical correction to Alfred D. Stedman's very good article "The St. Croix: Who Owns a River?" [*The Nation*, Dec. 21], and to stress a sociological implication.

The technical correction is that the river water cools the condensers, not the turbines. To an engineer, this is not nit-picking because it involves the fact that about 40 per cent of the heat from the 5,000 tons of coal burned per day goes into the river. The reason for the low efficiency of heat engines is given by the second law of thermodynamics. It is interesting to note that in *The Two Cultures*, C. P. Snow cited the second law of thermodynamics as one of the facets of science that should be known by the literary, nonscientific culture.

As to the sociological amplification, the controversy is influenced by a new social condition that is important on a much wider scale—affluence. Our society produces plenty for most of us and could produce plenty for all as far as production capacity is concerned. From this it follows that it is nonsense to spoil scarce good rivers to make electric power cheaper.

Carl A. Pemble
President, Save the St. Croix, Inc.

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By Love Depressed

DRAMATIC PERSONAGES. By Denis de Rougemont. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 170 pp. $4.50.

LOVE DECLARED. By Denis de Rougemont. Beacon Press. 235 pp. $1.75 paper.

Theodore Roszak

Denis de Rougemont's investigation of the Western myths of love, begun twenty years ago in *Love in the Western World,* has been a brilliant and beneficial piece of critical surgery. The culture of Passion in our society is such a stupid, embarrassing business, one can only feel grateful to de Rougemont for exposing it for what it is—a selfish preoccupation of the diseased personality and ultimately an obsession with death.

For several years I used *Love in the Western World* as basic reading in a freshman college course. It was one of those books college teachers offer small prayers for every night, the sort of "ginger book" that could strike intellectual sparks from the soggiest student brain—because it hit the kids where it really hurt: right in the middle of their muddled love lives (real, fantastic or anticipated). It was delightful to see the effect of de Rougemont's merciless critique upon the romantic *schwärmerei* in which so many adolescents delight to indulge themselves. And which so many adolsecents carry with them into adulthood. Suddenly it became clear to them that where affairs of the heart are concerned they were participants in a neurotic tradition as old as the troubadours and as pervasive as every boy-meets-girl popular novel and movie on the market. Boy meets girl, boy loses girl, boy gets girl, END. But why does the story always end there? Why does it never begin there? Because love stories are chronicles of the agonized pursuit, not the happy settling-down. Thus, attainment of object equals conclusion of story. The rest . . . is boredom. And beyond that adultery . . . divorce . . . perhaps a new pursuit.

"Passion," de Rougemont tells us, "is that form of love which refuses the immediate, avoids dealing with what is near and, if necessary, invents distance in order to realize and exalt itself more completely." Hence, only a Don Juan, the archetypal adulterer forever moving on to fresh conquests, forever at war with the social and moral obstacles that part him tantalizingly from his object, preserves the exquisite tension of the erotic adventure. But Don Juan's love, de Rougemont argues effectively, is not love of the Other, the autonomous *person* with his or her claim upon absolute recognition and care. It is rather love of a self-indulgent experience in the consuming sensation of which no Other exists: an experience now debased and corrupted, but ultimately related to an ancient, and, de Rougemont concludes (though I find this rather less persuasive), essentially non-Christian mystical tradition.

Love Declared, a collection of recent essays, carries forward de Rougemont's analysis of "love, passion and the mysteries of the person" to cover *Lolita, Doctor Zhivago* and the current American interest in Zen. There are several excellent essays in the book, most of which would be best read as footnotes on *Love in the Western World;* many of these pieces would prove quite baffling to a reader unfamiliar with de Rougemont's line and style of thought.

Dramatic Personages is a much slighter book than *Love Declared.* It is an uneven collection of critical essays drawn from the 1930s. Some sections, like those on Goethe and Kierkegaard, are so very abstruse they left me totally baffled. Other pieces—those on Kafka and the German Romantics especially—were worth while, though by now the ideas they deal in have lost the freshness they may have had thirty years ago. One minor, puzzling feature of de Rougemont's work: both books deal heavily in Kierkegaard, whom de Rougemont deeply admires. One wonders why the author never recognizes at any point that Kierkegaard's embarrassingly inept affair with Regina Olson is one of the best (or is it worst?) examples of Romantic idiocy to be found outside the pages of *Young Werther.* Whatever heights of genius Kierkegaard was capable of scaling, he was not above using his Christian calling as one of those conventional Romantic obstacles de Rougemont is so quick to identify in other contexts.

The question that I cannot settle in my own mind is whether—taking his work as a whole—de Rougemont finishes by doing more harm than good. For his welcome critique of romantic love is ultimately connected with what I regard as one of the most disastrous ideas ever to achieve domination over man's consciousness: the concept of the immortal human soul. It is this which de Rougemont is committed to defending against the pernicious influence of what he identifies as Oriental mysticism. Using his own "philosophy of the person" (which he considers authentically Christian) and this opposing philosophical yellow peril, he quixotically divides the world, half and half. Then, to the Christian conception of the person, he traces all things good, including industrial progress; while to the Orient's conception of the "transitory ego" he assigns stagnation and poor hygiene.

The Orient's "spiritual secrets," he argues, are linked to "poverty which was their price." Whereas—

> *The other half of humanity firmly believes in the tangible, insufficient, mysterious reality of actual appearances, which it attempts, in consequence, to examine and modify. . . . This half of humanity no longer knows the source of its passion, which has produced technology and science, but also our social structures and politics, the rights of man, and an extraordinary avidity. The real meaning of the adventure escapes the majority of those it sweeps in its course. . . . By grasping creation in his hands, measuring it with his eyes, dissolving and recomposing it, spying like the alchemist on the secret life of this matter of the expanding cosmos, of the elusive atom, of the living body, Western man seeks not only to discover its secret laws, but to transform himself, in so far as he participates in the mystery of creation. He has chosen this way; let him follow it to its end!*

This is an inspiring flight of language. But what it overlooks is that Christian doctrine may be related to Western economic development in much the same way that rigorous and early toilet-training can be related to the virtue of thrift: that is by way of a pathological reaction.

Sixty years ago Max Weber suggested that it was an irrational and morbid fear of damnation that connected the

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Protestant ethic to the spirit of capitalism. But the connection de Rougemont is alluding to may lie even deeper.

The traditional Christian conception of the soul—that irreducible, indestructible atomic particle of uniform identity—is not only something men must struggle to spare from eternal perdition (hence, perhaps, our strenuous fear of death). It is as well something we must constantly and laboriously sweat to isolate from the unitary flow of experience and from the ecological field of nature in which we participate. It is this obsession with keeping the ego concentrated and well defined, this refusal to recognize that reality *is* a web of relations that makes all things "members one of another," that vitiates so many of our human and natural relations. Yet it may be at the level of this tragic struggle between the atomic conception of the ego and the field-conception of reality that our drive toward economic prowess arises.

What I am suggesting is that the economic progress of the West—which I value every bit as highly as anyone who enjoys a full stomach and a decently long life span—may none the less be a by-product of the estranged ego's aggressive assertion of itself against death and nature: the congealed and unused vitality left behind by the self as it strives at all costs to prove its own enduring reality. If this is so, it clearly casts a shadow across many of the self-congratulatory notions we have built up around our technological progress. It also suggests why that progress seems to carry over so easily into irrational productivity and the invention of instruments of mass annihilation: it is because the thrust toward technical mastery of the world was not, from its inception, either sane or life-affirming.

What de Rougemont does not recognize is the great therapeutic and moral value of the Buddhist critique of the self. He also fails to appreciate the many ways in which even modern psychology and science have undercut the concept of the uniform self by assimilating it to any number of natural continuities. Mind-body, matter-energy, human-animal, space-time, organic-inorganic, conscious-unconscious—all these dualities which traditionally structured the idea of the soul have been called seriously into question. Thus, de Rougemont's crusade to save our souls may be in behalf not only of something undesirable but of something unreal as well.

Doris Lessing's Free Women

Florence Howe

Ever since Nora slammed the door on her doll's house, she has been wondering where to go. Negroes and Jews and Artists notwithstanding, women are the most persistently disaffected minority group in 20th-century literature. In England, moreover, three of the most widely read novelists to appear since 1950—Iris Murdoch, Muriel Spark and Doris Lessing—are women who write chiefly, if not wholly, about women. Of these, Doris Lessing is the last to come to the attention of Americans and easily the most promising—as well as the most prolific. Americans are now being offered the opportunity of reading early Lessing with hindsight, for her American publisher (Simon & Schuster) has begun the job of republishing her fiction of the fifties. *Children of Violence* contains the first two novels (*Martha Quest*, 1952 and *A Proper Marriage*, 1954) of a series chronicling the post-adolescent adventures of a heroine born and raised in Rhodesia, between two world wars.

To readers acquainted with *The Golden Notebook*, let me add quickly that *Children of Violence* is a traditional, even a Victorian novel, clumsy and not often as lively as *The Golden Notebook*. It is interesting chiefly as fictional autobiography and social history: a woman's initiation into life set against a generously large social canvas—Rhodesia in the late 30s and early 40s. Whether it is Mrs. Lessing's own story hardly matters. More to the point is its relationship to *The Golden Notebook*. If *The Golden Notebook* is a modern anatomy of Ibsen's Nora, then *Children of Violence* is another history of Nora as rebel. Like Nora, Martha Quest slams a door at the end of *A Proper Marriage* on what she considers an improper institution; she takes a first step in search of a self that *The Golden Notebook* names a "free" woman.

In a world of peoples trying to free themselves, no one is more aware than Doris Lessing of the ironies implicit in her choice of the words "Free Women" to describe the condition of the heroines in *The Golden Notebook*. If these women are "free" of marriage, they are still bound to men, whether current or ex-lovers or ex-husbands in the flesh or in memories of the flesh. If they are "free" to work at politics or a profession, they are bound, as divorced women, also to raise children without husbands. Most of all, if they are "free" to function as money-earning heads of households, they are also bound both biologically and culturally to their female functions. As heterosexual women, they are sexually dependent on men. They are also bound by biological as well as cultural drives to child-bearing and motherhood. Hence, the "free" woman is free only in a most limited sense. She is free to choose between her divided selves: free to attempt the "precarious balance" of living with both of them; free to be "female" or to be a "free woman." Finally, free comes to mean divided. The free woman divided, in Mrs. Lessing's novels, suffers most from a feeling of failure.

Martha Quest is the case history of an adolescent preparing for marriage: Martha leaves her parents' farm and takes a job as typist in town. *A Proper Marriage* is the record of a young girl's freeing herself from a husband and child. The general title given to the whole volume—*Children of Violence*—reminds us that Martha's generation were war babies who grew up just in time to have war babies of their own. Mrs. Lessing never forgets that Martha's inner conflicts are part of a social revolution that is itself enmeshed in war. Parallels between the two are not improbable, as the title suggests. Martha's movement in the novel is away from biological necessity—an inhuman, violent, warlike necessity—toward participation in a human social revolution.

Two illuminating experiences frame both novels and, with varying degrees of success, incarnate the heroine's divided consciousness. The first of these is a mystical, intuitive experience; the second, less successfully portrayed, an intellectual one. Early in *Martha Quest*, the adolescent girl stops on a solitary and forbidden path between town and farm to meet the eyes of two bucks. For a "moment," she feels "a slow integration," during which she, the animals, the grass, earth and sky become "one, shuddering together in a dissolution of dancing atoms." The force of the experience is not "ecstasy," but rather "difficult knowledge," particu-

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larly of the "inhuman" nature of the universe. What Martha understands is "her smallness, the unimportance of humanity" in contrast to "the great wheels of movement" which, with her "flesh as host," she "must bring herself to accept . . . to dissolve and be formed by that necessity." A similar vision appears to the chief heroine of *The Golden Notebook* in the form of a recurrent nightmare, the essence of which is a feeling "that there is no right, no wrong, simply a process, a wheel turning"; the frightened protagonist, Anna Wulf, "cries out against such a view of life." But not Martha, not at first.

Repeatedly, in *Children of Violence*, while Martha is behaving according to the code of her generation ("one is entitled to experience," if to nothing else) and learning to flirt, to dance, to drink, to play at sex, and especially after hastily deciding to marry, she feels in the grip of an impersonal, implacable destiny that will turn her in spite of her*self* into her own mother, a hated, pitied figure. Society, in terms of its institutions, simply supports destiny. Marriage is man's and (woman's) self-made trap. During pregnancy the grip is particularly intense: "One part of herself was sunk in the development of the creature, appallingly slow, frighteningly inevitable, a process which she could not alter or hasten, and which dragged her back into the impersonal blind urges of creation. . . ." Yet even then, she feels "essentially divided." The "free spirit" who is watching the pregnant Martha does not emerge, however, until more than three years have passed, during which time Martha and her demobilized husband have become solid citizens of the *status quo* in the Rhodesian capital.

Martha, at age 22, discovers the political world: "It was as if her eyes had been opened and her ears made to hear; it was like a rebirth. For the first time in her life she had been offered an ideal to live for." Enraged that she had been for so many years "a willing accomplice in this process of not thinking," Martha blames also "her upbringing, her education, her associates, the newspapers. . . ." With a sense of mission, she leaves her "proper marriage," husband, child and house, to live alone in a room, to dream of "real" love, to work for the Communist Party. Martha has apparently freed herself from Mrs. Lessing's version of the life force.

As Martha sees it, "there was no woman she had ever met she could model herself on. . . ."; hence she must break with biological force and with institutional manifestations if she is to work for a revolutionary new world, a *human* world. But as a matter of fact, Martha does project a fictional woman whom she would like to know or be, one who will sound familiar to all of us: "a brooding and female spirit . . . surrounded by . . . six or seven children . . . who fed from this source of warmth and creativeness as at a spring." This is enough to suggest the heroine of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, Mrs Ramsay, an idealization clearly Victorian even in 1925. Mrs. Ramsay is not without conflict: she feels divided between her family's demands on her—and her love for them—on the one hand, and her occasional need for self-isolation and self-renewal thereby. Significantly, however, her personal needs are occasional and her movement is characteristically toward the vital center of the family. Even the spinster-artist, Lily Briscoe, moreover, devotes herself to a portrait of the family. Divided and in conflict, Lily can still say at the end of Mrs. Woolf's novel, "I have had my vision."

Mrs. Lessing's heroines do not move, as Mrs. Woolf's do, through conflict to the wholeness of vision. The visions of Mrs. Lessing's heroines serve only to intensify their divisions. As they deepen—the more isolated each of the "halves"—the closer is woman to madness and death.

It is not, therefore, a new disease that Mrs. Lessing's heroines have acquired. But they suffer a new, radical and potentially disastrous phase, one for which she offers only the most unpleasant of "cures." Two stories from a most recent volume (*A Man and Two Women*, 1963) illustrate. In "The Story of Two Dogs," Mrs. Lessing describes a 14-year-old girl's "heart" as one "not only critical and intransigent, but one which longed so bitterly to melt into loving acceptance." The adolescent's divided consciousness operates with regard to a brother who does the man's work she would like to be doing. What happens to the divided female heart? "How I Finally Lost My Heart" outlines one gruesome possibility, allegorically and in a mocking tone and style that finally turn bitterly in on themselves. The important word is "Finally," for the heart drops out of the heroine's bosom rather early, or as she puts it, between affairs B and C. The problem, however, is that the heart sticks, then grows, to her hand, and of course one cannot walk about with a hand that drips heart, even if wrapped in tinfoil. The heart does not drop off until the heroine is face to face, on the Underground, with a madwoman suffering loudly and openly from the loss of love. The madwoman, we are told, is in the grip of some impersonal force beyond herself. At the moment that the heroine "looking at her, felt an embarrassment and shame that was not on her account at all . . ." the bloody growth drops off as "a perfect stylized heart," a "three-dimensional" silver Valentine which she presents to the madwoman. Now heartless, our heroine leaves the train, singing, "No heart at all. What bliss. What freedom. . . . / *Hear that sound? That's laughter, yes. / That's me laughing, yes, that's me.*" And we are left wondering whether, in fact, "freedom" has not been exchanged for madness.

In *The Golden Notebook*, madness, incipient or actual, is part of the atmosphere of failure that pervades the novel. One of the free woman's failures has to do with raising her child alone. The second generation, we are told, suffer from "paralysis of the will." Tommy, on the verge of a breakdown, challenges his mother's friend Anna Wulf to explain what we are alive for. He mockingly reminds Anna that she has abandoned her old faith in communism and he disallows her earlier equivocation of "stoicism." Tommy urges that Anna is dishonest

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by **Carey McWilliams, Editor, The Nation,** 365 pp.

When **BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN** was first issued (April 21, 1943), it evoked this comment from **Oswald Garrison Villard** in the Saturday Review:

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not to admit that the world is indeed a chaos, that "people aren't good at all, they are cannibals. . . . We don't really care about each other at all." Anna, terrified by his condition, replies: ". . . every so often, perhaps once in a century, there's a sort of—act of faith. A well of faith fills up, and there's an enormous heave forward in one country or another, and that's a forward movement for the whole world. Because it's an act of imagination . . . because every time, the dream gets stronger. If people can imagine something, there'll come a time when they'll achieve it . . . goodness. Kindness. The end of being animals." The answer does not serve to dissuade Tommy from trying to blow his brains out. But like the women in the novel who suffer temporary insanity (theirs having to do with the loss of love), he is even a failure at dying. They must all return painfully to the gray world again, failures even at dying.

I know of only two women in Mrs. Lessing's fiction who are successful at dying. These, at the moment, stand as ominous bookends to the large bulk between. They are also unequivocally not free women. The heroine of Mrs. Lessing's first novel, *The Grass is Singing* (Thomas Y. Crowell, 1950), goes to her murder, at the hands of an African servant named Moses, as to her suicide. In "To Room Nineteen," the final story in *A Man and Two Women* (1963), the heroine turns on the gas. In both cases madness precedes death. In spite of innumerable categorical differences between the two heroines—the first, neurotic, childless, dried-up, living in poverty and isolation on an African farm with an immature unsuccessful husband; the last, beautiful, intelligent, sensible, mother of four, living in English comfort with a successful husband—their willing deaths are the only assertions possible of women who have lost their selves. Loneliness drives the first one crazy; solitude is what the last one craves. And death affirms their condition.

In contrast, the free woman who has a "self" lives not death but purgatory and most usually without even the special relief that insanity affords. Images in Mrs. Lessing's fiction connect the free woman with Sisyphus (she is a "boulder-pusher") and with Prometheus (she is part of "a vision of mankind as nobility bound and betrayed"). If she is enlightened, moreover, she lives also without the relief

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afforded by blaming men for her condition. In *The Golden Notebook*, for example, Anna Wulf says, "If I were a man I'd be the same," that is, she'd behave as Michael, her lover, does. Aware that "resentment" about the unequal division of labor in any household shared by men and women "is the disease of women in our time," Anna knows that only the "unlucky ones who do not know it is impersonal" turn the poison "against their men." Anna recognizes that women (and men too?) must assert their "indestructible" human selves against "the anarchic principle . . . in the shape of an inhuman sort of dwarf." Mrs. Lessing's divided free woman, bound to suffer and fail, is bound also to suffer and fail again.

No one will read Doris Lessing in order to learn how to write a good novel or in order to admire a beautiful work of art. She disdains—is suspicious of—smoothness of most sorts. There is nothing subtle about her fiction; its bulk alone is formidable. She is careless even about sentences; she overwrites; her "symbolism" tends to be self-conscious; she preaches when she should be demonstrating; she tells us too much and too often. But frankly I don't care. More than anyone else writing today, Doris Lessing speaks to the question that the young Martha Quest asks of the novels she reads: "What does this say about my life?" If we are not Nora, if we have not slammed a door, we live with or next to someone who has. This is why women (and men in self-defense) are reading Doris Lessing.

'Unhappily Ever After'

SEX AND THE OFFICE. By Helen Gurley Brown. Bernard Geis Associates. 309 pp. $4.95.

THE USELESS SEX. By Oriana Fallaci. Horizon Press. 183 pp. $4.95.

Jean Martin

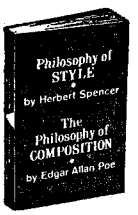
From Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* to Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, and on down to Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl*, the recent influx of books about the plight of woman testifies to the fact that although women hold the reins of their own destiny, they are tempted to let the horse find the way home. Like a steeplechase with the obstacles to happiness suddenly removed, the players are puzzled as to how to play the game. The old rules which once looked so confining now appear almost comfortable, and a whole generation of women have returned to the simple life pattern of a Jane Austen novel: the exhilarating chase (flirtation and courtship), the capture of the prize (Mr. D'Arcy), and then "they lived happily ever after." But it is difficult to know what Miss Austen would make of Helen Gurley Brown's directions for landing a man in the office. For example, in a hotel when the lady is traveling on company business, ". . . wait until you know he is in his room, then put on your hat and coat, grab your purse, march right down to his room and ram your key in his door . . . he will come out irritated . . . compare his room number with the key in your hand and say, 'Good heaven's, how stupid of me.' Then get ready to be asked if you've had dinner." Most of Mrs. Brown's ideas are not that subtle, however, and consist mainly of leaving the top button or two of your blouse unbuttoned in the office.

According to Mrs. Brown, a woman should just work like hell to get out of the single state, after which she will presumably pass into a sanctified limbo. The glorification of this pattern is what Betty Friedan called "the feminine mystique." But, as she pointed out, in reality it more often happens that "they lived *unhappily* ever after." It is not hard to see why. The spiritual poverty underlying Mrs. Brown's assumptions don't seem to have existed in the Austen century of intellectual plenty.

Oriana Fallaci's book could have been a stupid but interesting little book of gossip. When the author is about to interview Han Suyin, who wrote *A Many Splendored Thing*, she wonders, ". . . was she prettier or less pretty than Jennifer Jones, the actress who portrayed her?" (She was prettier.) Unfortunately, the book tries to be yet another about the plight of woman. Miss Fallaci traveled around the world talking with women and all she adds to the legend of "they lived unhappily ever after" is "that they do so all over the world."

Jane Austen assumed that Elizabeth and D'Arcy would retire to The Elms where Elizabeth would (without the reader's presence) grow from a young lady of intelligence and charm into a mature woman of cultivation and wit. She assumed that with experience would come a deepening of feeling, a growing intelligence, in short, maturity; the presence of a Lady Catherine de Brough or Lydia Bennet—women without inner resources—served as a warning that the Person is all. So many books published recently by women about Woman, while they make an interesting point in defining the problem, offer little beyond the detective work involved in its exposure. The rest is up to the individual women, the Elizabeth D'Arcys who must develop the inner resources to cope with a time of intellectual poverty in the midst of material plenty, who must achieve maturity on their own and with it, presumably, the ability to handle the difficult gift of happiness.

Jean Martin is a free-lance writer living in Chicago. She reviews frequently for the Sun-Times *and writes primarily on cultural topics for various magazines.*



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One-Tenth in Urban Bondage

SLAVERY IN THE CITIES: THE SOUTH 1820-1860. By Richard C. Wade. Oxford University Press. 340 pp. $6.75.

Eugene D. Genovese

American historians have had the good sense to study Negro slavery in its rural and especially plantation setting, for as late as 1860 about 90 per cent of all slaves were in the countryside. One-tenth of a population is nevertheless a significant segment, and we may be forgiven some surprise that Richard C. Wade's *Slavery in the Cities* is the first study of its kind. We might therefore expect Wade to leave many important questions unanswered and many important features of urban slavery untouched—but the greater weaknesses of his book arise from method and the scope of research.

Wade seems to think that he can understand urban slavery without first establishing the political, economic and social links between the Southern cities and the countryside. Since the plantation, not the city, was the center of life and power under the slave regime, the omission is beyond compensation.

A second weakness of method hurts the book. Whereas in the days of Ulrich B. Phillips slavery was studied from the viewpoint of the planter class, these days it is studied from the supposed viewpoint of the slaves. Neither viewpoint alone will do, but to make matters worse, Phillips understood the masters much more thoroughly than most recent writers, including Wade, have understood the slaves. Too often the slave's viewpoint on close inspection becomes a neo-abolitionist's idea of what the slaves were about.

Wade's major contribution lies in his accounts of the hiring system and housing conditions. A large number of slaves were hired out and increasingly allowed to "hire their own time," that is, to arrange to work for different white men on a daily or weekly basis without consulting their masters. In this way the masters were guaranteed a fixed return, and the slaves could keep the surplus for spending money. At the same time, this arrangement facilitated the largely illegal practice of permitting slaves to live away from their masters' residences. Wade's excellent account of housing reveals that the dwellings within the masters' compounds were usually much superior to those which the slaves could find on their own, but that the slaves preferred to live away in order to obtain some privacy and freedom of movement.

With the slaves living away from their masters' supervision, in daily contact with free Negroes and other slaves, with access (however illegal and dangerous) to liquor, gambling and kinds of conviviality almost unheard of on the plantations, the problem of police control became increasingly difficult. No wonder so many planters regarded the cities as subversive of discipline and a blight on their "Southern way" of life. They were.

Another notable feature of the book is the discussion of the law, which demonstrates that racial considerations prevailed over strictly class ones and that free Negroes were often grouped with slaves in the legal codes and police regulations.

Wade pays dearly for his aversion to economic explanations and to economic analysis. One of the main points of the book is that slavery was declining in the cities in the years just before the Civil War. Wade rejects an economic explanation, although in at least one place he concedes that economic conditions played some part. Rather, he argues, the steady deterioration in slave discipline in the cities provoked a three-pronged counterattack from white Southerners. First, they sold young male blacks to the plantations; second, they strengthened the laws against manumission; and third, they accelerated the growth of segregation and related social arrangements. "And the high demand for field hands in the new areas furnished a convenient rationale for action that was only partially economic in motivation." But the data supplied by Wade points direct to an economic explanation: the demand for male house servants lagged markedly behind the demand for female; males had to turn to crafts within which they met fierce hostility from whites; therefore, male blacks were increasingly forced into menial tasks at lower rates of return to their masters. The income from renting out these slaves, while acceptable, was increasingly no barrier against their sale at the heady price levels of the 1850s. Thus, Wade's argument is easily reversed: the breakdown of a personal master-slave relationship, occasioned by the general conditions of urban life, made easier the quick sale of slaves when big profits beckoned. The social problems of the city were the indirect forces reinforcing the market relationships, not vice versa.

His statistical appendix also indicates an economic explanation. If Wade were to rearrange his figures to coincide roughly with economic cycles—that is, to separate the figures on population for the depressed 1840s from those for the prosperous 1850s—he would find that seven of his ten cities showed an absolute decline in number of slaves for the 1850s but that, of these, five had registered increases in the 1840s. These five had increased their slave population by almost 36 per cent between 1840 and 1850, much more than the rate of natural increase. In short, there was a close correlation between cotton profits in the countryside and the flow of slaves from city to country.

A full explanation of the decline will have to take more careful account of the social structure of urban slavery. Wade does not seem to appreciate that Southern towns and cities were, for the most part, extensions of the plantation regime—commercial and social service stations—rather than independent industrial centers. In such a situation urban slavery necessarily had little room to expand.

Wade finds himself in difficulty in evaluating the urban impact upon the slaves themselves. He notes the greater freedom of movement in the cities and shows that urban slaves, despite the fear of sale and the barriers to family life, could and did acquire a greater sense of their own worth. He stresses the development of colored churches as places where Negroes could establish an identity and develop their own leadership. Yet, he is at pains to argue that the city was less conducive to slave revolts than the country. In fact, he maintains, without adequate evidence, that the one great urban slave conspiracy, the Denmark Vesey affair of 1822 in Charleston, was probably nothing more than loose talk.

His view of an emerging religious leadership is the more puzzling because of his insistence that organized resistance did not occur. On his evidence alone, it appears that this leadership was generally a force for accommodation to the regime. Wade missed a chance to study the social content of the religion preached to the slaves, and especially to assess

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the strength of African survivals. Had he done so, the contrast, say, with the Moslem influence in Bahia, Brazil, where a historic revolt occurred, might have told us a good deal about the ideological preconditions for resistance to slavery.

He insists that the countryside presented more favorable opportunities for rebellion than the city, although chances for success were nowhere good. In the city the Negroes lacked the numerical superiority that they had in parts of the black belt; they faced a better organized police apparatus; and, ironically, their privileged position gave them more to lose and provided a safety valve for resentments. All this is plausible but unenlightening. The greater freedom of movement and the privileged position might have been powerful preconditions for revolt, especially with the threat to that freedom and position posed by the slave sales of the 1850s. Since there were no great slave revolts in the United States, unless we so consider Nat Turner's insurrection, any theory will seem to do. A convincing examination of the question necessarily must be one that carefully accounts for the experience of the Western Hemisphere as a whole. In Brazil, for example, there were both rural and urban risings of massive proportions.

One would think that after the appearance of Frank Tannenbaum's great book, *Slave & Citizen*, in 1947, no study would ever again discuss slavery outside its hemispheric framework.

MUSIC

Benjamin Boretz

STRAVINSKY'S ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

Stravinsky's astonishing capacity for perpetual self-renewal has come, in great part, from his awareness of the precise qualities of the "outside" ideas and frameworks through which his musical discoveries have typically been projected. His works are like sensitive galvanometers affixed to their "host" ideas, whose musical potential they transmit with such precision that—once we realize what the old man has been up to—these ideas seem not only to have been perfectly realized in music, but actually to have been permanently transformed *into* music. Thus, where it used to be said that Stravinsky "monumentalized" his subjects (particularly in connection with such dramatic and religious "rituals" as the *Symphony of Psalms* and *Oedipus*) they seem, more truly, to have been "musicalized," as though Stravinsky's music has replaced, fiber for fiber, the elements of their structural networks the way amber replaces the substance of a "petrified" tree.

One's tendency to think of such concrete images in connection with Stravinsky's music reflects its own treatment of musical sound and form as, literally, physical entities: the famous Stravinsky "objectivity." His "subjects," in these terms, are really "objects"; literary or dramatic ideas, conceits of musical style association, are, to Stravinsky, actual things with specific weight, tactility and outline, to be recast and reassembled as the reflectors of a compositional image. And since his compositional ear is always pressed to the contemporary musical and intellectual ground, rather than tuned in only to his own inner voices, the continuous development of his creative ideas has manifested itself, in successive works not through the extension of surface qualities of his own previous music, but in each case through new, specific qualities mined out of the individual context. It is this that has always made each work such a fresh, unique, unsubstitutable experience; and since, at 83, his vital contact with the outside world and its conceptual and sensory manifestations remains as unimpeded as ever, his new music is as surprising as his old, as prickly in its challenges, and as obstinate in its refusal to permit any total picture of his creative development to be drawn in terms of any final, past-immersed quiescence.

By the same token, new Stravinsky works always puzzle their first hearers; their ultimate importance is usually more evident from the number and urgency of the perplexing questions they raise than from their projection of a sense of overwhelming "inevitability" in the fulfillment or development of qualities latent in earlier works. Thus *Abraham and Isaac*, given its American première at Philharmonic Hall last month on Stravinsky's

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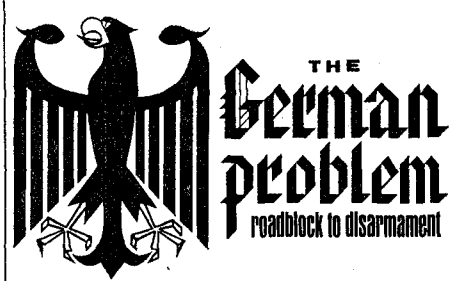

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—**I. F. Stone's Weekly, July 13, 1964**

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and Robert Craft's own concert, seemed particularly vexing in its un-Stravinskian paradoxes. To begin with, the principal presentational line of the work is a long, unbroken, rather undifferentiated and unvarying solo baritone line winding along the entire length of the work's surface, and particularly uncharacteristic of Stravinsky in its evident aloofness from interplay, exchange or quick reactive association —apart from some obvious pitch correspondences—with the articulations or materials of the instrumental ensemble. And at the other extreme, the continuity delineated by the instruments seemed curiously sectionalized, in quite constricted episodic compartments whose disjunction is exaggerated by the unperturbed cantillation (ritual intoning) of the solo baritone (given the Old Testament text, set in Hebrew in a work dedicated to the state of Israel, this cantillatory intention seemed unmistakable). Unquestionably, the flute and tuba music (in spacing as much as timbre), the woodwind chords near the end, the multifaceted string textures could be immediately recognized as marvelous sonic inspirations, and the varied perorations on recurrent words (especially *"Vayomer"*) in the vocal line with its cross-related accompaniments could be associated with some of Stravinsky's most fertile ideas of vocal-music structure. But this made more startling the flat, one-dimensional, literal relation of the presented rhythm of the work to the underlying, essential rhythm of event-change.

But whatever previous "Stravinskian" expectations all this frustrates—in which respect it is most characteristically Stravinskian—what it ultimately projects is precisely the sense one gets from the Old Testament itself: a fluid, cohesive continuity of verbal style, in the language and inflection of the "narrator," maintained through a series of short, episodic, violently contrasting and casually juxtaposed sections comprising the incidents of the narration. The language, the stylistic quality of the narration, carry the central development of thought, and the successive "events" form a kaleidoscopic backdrop. In Stravinsky's score, this emerges as a perfect "dramatic" situation for music: the voice, on the plane of thought, proceeds steadily, unperturbable, while striking off flashes of constantly changing image and event in the "sensory" instrumental domain. The relation between the levels is established not by obvious correspondences or influences, but through "contact points" of related material, intersections of similar event-content presented in completely different ways—in short, through a "dramatization" of the most deeply embedded property of the twelve-tone system that underlies the work. And the "flatness" of the rhythmic dimension is like the "flatness" of the baritone's "tone of voice": a brittle, tensile plane surface on which every nuance, however minute, leaves its unmistakable track.

The idea of a polar separation of narration, observation and action is, of course, no more novel in music than in drama itself; the recitative-aria dichotomy in Baroque opera, the multiple recitative-arioso-Choral-Chorus-aria distinctions in the Bach Passions; and the spoken narration-chorus-protagonist relationship in Stravinsky's own *Oedipus* are prominent enough ancestry. But it is in the idea of simultaneity that *Abraham and Isaac* is engrossingly unique, and in its infusion of every dimension of presentation and structure with a special fulfillment of the single dramatic idea. The real Biblical drama, after all, lies not in the simple separation and contrast of language and what it describes, but in their simultaneous interrelation; and *Abraham and Isaac*, too, generates its real tension by maintaining levels in clear separation while opening them fully to each other's ideas, so that in the end we hear them not as separate entities but as different dimensions of a whole, each dependent on the completion of the other for ultimate comprehensibility.

Here the full mastery of Stravinsky's strategy emerges: the vocal line, the dimension of coherence, in retrospect confers continuity on the episodic sectional succession, while it is in turn given articulative force by the highly differentiated, clearly demarcated patches of instrumental texture: and the catalyst that enables the clear sonic projection of such a complex and long-spanned relational idea is the powerful associative resource of the twelve-tone pitch structure.

The full range and depth of the compositional discoveries turned up by Stravinsky in the pursuit of this idea could not, of course, have been evident at any first hearing, even one so powerfully aided as by the musicianly competence of Robert Craft and some of the New York instrumental elite who played at Philharmonic Hall. Aside from more fundamental considerations, the absence of any printed text or translation for a work sung in Hebrew, and the probable impossibility of finding a properly cantorial baritone capable of sustaining the almost twenty minutes of continuous intelligent singing required by the solo part (the soloist on this occasion, Andrew Foldi, had many of the qualifications but was fatally limited in his range of sound and dynamics, and the precision of pitch focus) were formidable deterrents to an adequate knowledge of the work. Which makes it even more urgent that the score promised by Boosey and Hawkes, and the recording already taped by Columbia, be released before the more recent *Symphonic Variations* usurp yet again the center of our musical attention.

A second column will discuss recent Stravinsky recordings.

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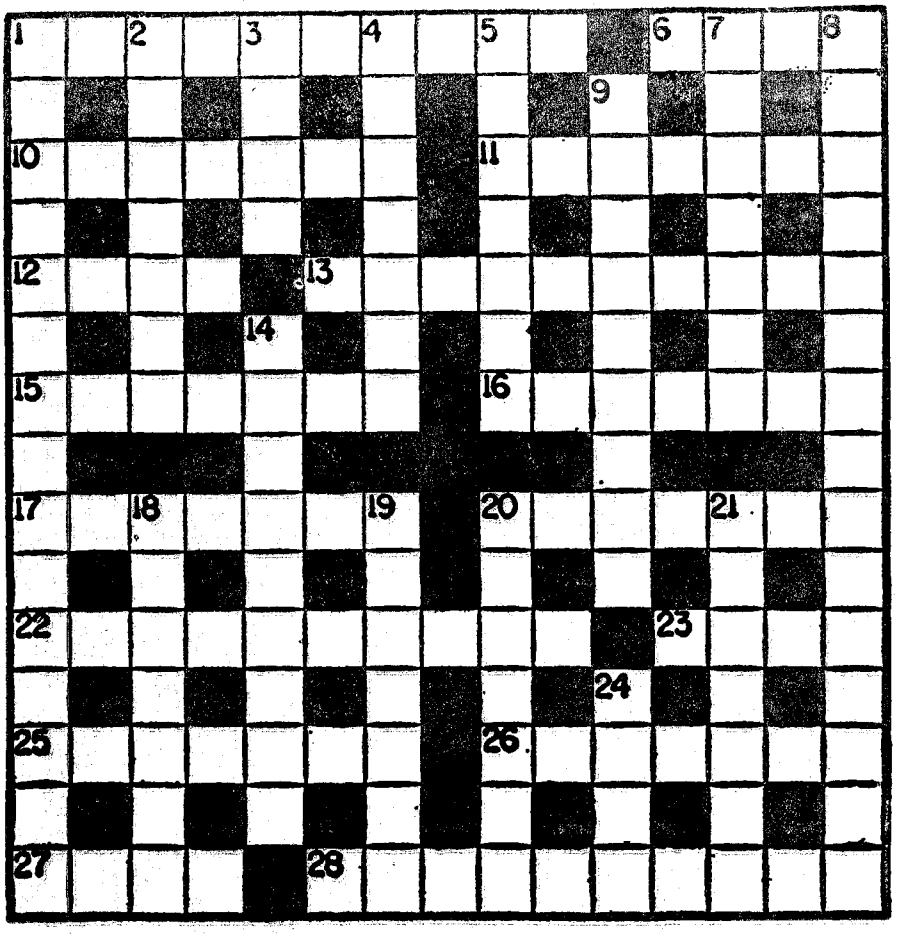
Crossword Puzzle No. 1088

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Common man, like Lucifer, might be dejected. (10)
6 See 2 down
10 Kept under glass, since one's motion is without power? (7)
11 Sounds as though a threat is implied by coming. (7)
12 Certainly not the first call for those that might serve up liquid refreshment. (4)
13 Island associated with the play of a president, (10)
15 Back-space after a couple of numbers—they might cover a good deal of waste. (7)
16 Not a local show! (7)
17 How the haughty might be fixed for a while, at least. (5, 2)
20 You can't keep the mob cool if you straighten out this place. (7)
22 What one would do well to serve containing a mixture of treacle to speed things long. (10)
23 Hook accessory. (4)
25 Hook accessories. (7)
26 No beats allowed at the burial here. (7)
27 Where washers go and go under. (4)
28 The pick of those who aspire to the heights. (10)

DOWN:

1 Are they agitated in spirit? Quite the opposite! (8, 7)
2 and 6 across Health insurance, naturally! (2, 5, 1, 3)
3 A dance, perhaps, involving a shuffling of the feet. (4)
4 Useful in stock-taking, with the trial as arranged. (7)
5 The best precept, formerly enough and to spare! (7)
7 Pass on! (7)
8 Spring is likely to be rather warm here. (11, 4)
9 A faulty stroke on 2 down might still bear fruit. (9)
14 Tiger milk? Learn to churn it! (3-6)
18 They used to make victims of Hansen's disease cry so! (7)
19 Looking over my gal from Lima? (7)
20 Pushed back to get a better view of the half-moon? (7)
21 Some men told us to hold what shouldn't be forgotten. (7)
24 Supplies guns to members? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1087

Across: 1 French windows; 10 Using; 11 Imbroglio; 12 Chastised; 13 Slate; 14 Disinfectant; 19 Red-letter day; 22 Vamps; 24 Seafarers; 25 Antalkali; 26 Timed; 27 Branding irons. DOWN: 2 Rhinal; 3 Nighttime; 4 Hair shirt; 5 Imbed; 6 Dross; 7 Welladay; 8 Dutch; 9 Honesty; 15 Forsaking; 16 Character; 17 Trivial; 18 Odometer; 20 German; 21 Aside; 23 Salon; 24 Spahi.

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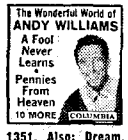

1351. Also: Dream, This Is All I Ask, Noelle, 12 in all

1556. World's Fair, Unisphere, Iberia, Elementals, 2 more

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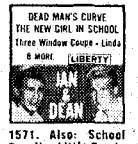

1571. Also: School Day, Hey Little Freshman, Bucket "T", etc.

1593. Gordon Jenkins' musical poems in praise of Manhattan

1257. Also: Return to Paradise, Beyond The Reef, etc.

1263. "Magnificent performances!" — High Fidelity

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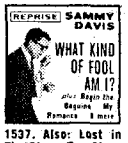
1015. Also: Go Away Little Girl, Up on the Roof, etc.



1537. Also: Lost in The Stars, Too Close for Comfort, etc.

1614. Also: Forget Him, You Don't Own Him, Sugar Shack, etc.

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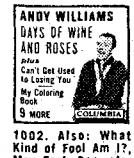
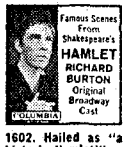


1002. Also: What Kind of Fool Am I?, May Each Day, etc.



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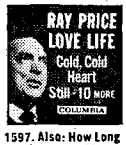
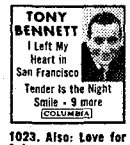


1597. Also: How Long Is Forever, Please Talk to My Heart, etc.



1023. Also: Love for Sale, Candy Kisses, Marry Young, etc.

1605. America's most celebrated organist." — Newsweek

1448. Also: Sunshine Special, Goin' Home, Sinner Man, etc.

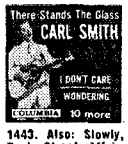
1362. Also: Exodus, Irma La Douce, The Apartment, etc.

1013. Also: Twelfth of Never, No Love, Come to Me, etc. *

1603. Bernstein "at top of his form." — High Fidelity

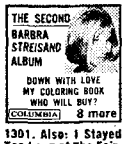
1359. Standanavian, Rubberneck, Tootsie Roll, 9 in all

1598. Also: Cup of Loneliness, Color of The Blues, etc.



1443. Also: Slowly, Back Street Affair, More And More, etc.

1600. Corcovado, Once upon A Summer Night, 7 in all



1301. Also: I Stayed Too Long at The Fair, Gotta Move, etc.

1057. Also: Johnny Reb, Comanche, Jim Bridger, etc.

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1450. Also: Folsom Prison Blues, Bad News, etc.

1607. Also: Drowsy Waters, The Hawaiian Wedding Song, etc.

1554. Also: Days of Wine And Roses, Pink Panther Theme, etc.

1445. Also: Life Is But A Dream, Only Yesterday, etc.

1608. Also: The Blue Danube, Sabre Dance, Cielito Lindo, etc.

1083. "Abundance of pulsing rhythms." — St. Louis Globe-Dem.

1037. "The most adventurous musical ever made."—Life

1539. Also: My Heart Cries for You; Hey, Good Lookin'; etc.

1302. Also: The High And The Mighty, I Got Rhythm, etc.

1364. A definitive summary of the Count's greatest hits

1501. Eight spanking new explosions of laughter and song

1538. Also: If I Had A Hammer, La Bamba, A-Me-Ri-Ca, etc.

1581. Also: Mama Said, You Don't Own Me, etc. *

1098. "Fierce impact and momentum." — N.Y. World-Telegram

NOTE: Stereo records must be played only on a stereo record player.
***Records marked with a star (*) have been electronically re-channeled for stereo.**

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I accept your special offer and have written in the boxes at the left the numbers of the six records I wish to receive — FREE! I've also indicated the record I am to receive as my first selection, for which I am to be billed $3.98 (regular high-fidelity) or $4.98 (stereo), plus a small mailing and handling charge. I will also receive the record rack — FREE!

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3. Indicate whether you want regular or stereo records; also the type of music in which you are mainly interested.
4. Each month you will receive, free, the Club Magazine — which describes forthcoming selections. You may accept the monthly selection for the field of music in which you are mainly interested, or take any of the other records offered, or take NO record in any particular month.
5. Your only obligation is to purchase six additional records from the more than 1000 to be offered in the Club Magazine during the coming 12 months. You may discontinue membership at any time thereafter.
6. After fulfilling your obligation, you will receive a 12" record of your choice FREE for every two additional records you buy.
7. The records you want are mailed and billed to you at the regular Club price of $3.98 (Classical $4.98), plus a small mailing and handling charge. Stereo records are $1.00 more.

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